THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER,

LATE ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL OF BENGAL,

AND

CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY

JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN."

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

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PREFACE.

A WORK of this kind tells its own story so plainly, that little prefatory remark need be made in the shape of explanation or apology. I was requested to write the Life of HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER; and believing that a Memoir of one, who throughout the space of half a century took no unimportant part in many of the great transactions of Indian history, and who, in his participation in those transactions, "did all like a man," would contribute much both in the way of historical information and personal example to the general stock of "things worth knowing," I undertook to write it; and the present volume is the result of my endeavors.

I wish, however, to add, that for the publication of whatsoever the Memoir contains, I, and I alone, am responsible. It is based entirely on materials derived from private sources. I have not received the smallest assistance from any public body or any official person. If there be anything in this volume which ought not to be there, the indiscretion is mine. I believe, however, that the faults of the work are rather those of omission than commission. Certainly they are in my own eyes. If any one should think that I have inserted too much, and reproach me for the insertion, I would beg him to believe, that in consideration for what is called "public convenience"—a great inconvenience, be it

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said, to the Public—and what really is private feeling, I have forborne even more than I have adventured.

> What's done ye partly may compute—
> But know not what's resisted.

It would have been egotistical and presumptuous in me to have said even this much, upon the circumstances under which the present work has been written, if it had not been that, on a recent occasion, these personal circumstances were much mis-stated both in Parliament and by the Press; and a great Public Body identified with what was in reality but a private undertaking. And, however willing I may be, in all cases where others have assisted me, to share with them the praise that may be considered my due, I wish to keep the blame undividedly to myself; and to be held solely responsible for all the revelations that are made, and all the opinions that are expressed, in any book that bears my name upon its title.

I have but one word more to say, personal to myself. On looking over the sheets of this work, it appears to me that there is, in some parts, what may seem to be a party bias—in other words, a disposition to speak more slightingly of the acts of the old Whig party than those of their opponents. As the supposition that I have written at all under political influence would, very properly, invalidate my testimony, I think it right to say, that ever since I was a boy my sympathies have been all with the Whigs, and that if this has not appeared in the writings which bear my name, it is because I have ever held that "India is of no Party," and esteemed the claims of Historical Truth paramount over *all* considerations of Party or of Person.

London, January, 1854.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

MEMOIRS

OF

HENRY ST.GEORGE TUCKER.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage of Henry St.George Tucker—The Bruere and Tucker Families—Early Life in Bermuda—Departure for England—Schoolboy Days—Embarkation for India—Midshipman Life—Arrival at Calcutta.

Henry St.George Tucker was born on the 15th of February, 1771. On that one of the Bermudian group of islands which is known as St. George's he first saw the light. His father was a man of distinguished reputation and high official position in the Bermudas, who afterwards came to occupy, on two occasions, the Presidential chair.

His mother was a Miss Bruere, daughter of George James Bruere, who, for some years before and after her marriage, was Governor of the Bermudas. Of this Governor Bruere the colonial annalists relate that he was a man of an irascible temper and overbearing disposition, living and ruling in a perpetual state of antagonism with the Assembly and the People. He was a soldier, and a

good one; but he was habituated to command, and impatient of opposition. In spite, however, of the intestine strife into which he plunged the islands, he governed them for nearly twenty years, and might have governed them still longer, but that, in the very crisis of the warfare, he was suddenly removed by death. He died on the 10th of September, 1780, like a soldier, at his post."*

The Brueres and the Tuckers, it would seem, were at one time not knit very closely together. There were differences of opinion on vital questions to dissever and distract. There is no animosity so virulent as that which grows up in small insular communities, when party feeling breeds real personal warfare as bitter as it is abiding. The Brueres were staunch royalists — of a soldierly stock, loyal to the core; whilst the Tuckers were not without strong republican sympathies—sympathies which the American war was even then bringing into vigorous action. The two families were thus divided; but Henry Tucker, when he married Frances Bruere, had not to make his election between them. Of moderate views and a conciliatory disposition, he remained cherished and respected by both parties; and his sons, as they grew up at his knees, found neutral ground before them, and planted there the royalist or the rebel standard, each according to the promptings of his childish fancy. George, his second son, grew up a royalist, and dwelt much at Government House; whilst the heart of Henry St.-

* Williams' Historical and Statistical Account of the Bermudas.

George, the subject of this memoir, inclined towards the republican cause. His home was at Port Royal, where was the estate of the Tuckers; and there "rebel councils prevailed." Whether this residence in either case, or in both, was the cause or the effect of these early tendencies, I do not pretend to know.

But of these remote family incidents the biographer has little need to speak. In his seventieth year, Henry St.George Tucker wrote, for the amusement of his children, the story of his boyish days. It would ill become me to substitute anything of my own for such an autobiography as this. Unhappily it is but a fragment. It treats of the Tucker and Bruere families—of the childish experiences of young Henry St.George in his island birthplace—of his schoolboy days in England—and of his voyage to India, as a neglected midshipman. But of the life of the *man* Tucker there is no record from his pen, beyond that which is to be gathered from scattered passages in his correspondence. The autobiography can illustrate only the opening chapter of the memoir. It is "a monument of a purpose unaccomplished."*

Of his family, both upon the father's and the mother's side, he has given us this account:

"I was born, I am told, on the 15th February, 1771. I was the first-born of ten sons and one daughter. . . . . My parents on both sides were of gentle blood. My paternal ances-

* Mr. Tucker seems to have projected—not, however, for publication—a complete memoir of his life, with some account of his cotemporaries. Many will sympathise with the strong feelings of regret entertained by the biographer, when they peruse the following passage taken from the brief intro-

tors possessed landed property in Kent and Northamptonshire; and I still retain a few hereditary acres in the former county;* but why they emigrated to the little island of Bermuda (where they also possessed landed property), I never happened to learn. I know that I had two grandfathers; and beyond this fact, curiosity never impelled me to penetrate into the mazes of antiquity.

"My grandfather, Henry Tucker, was one of the finest models of a man I have ever seen. Even at the age of seventy, when I last saw him, his person was erect, combining the elements of strength and activity—his step was firm and elastic—his eye brilliant and full of the fire of youth—and his proud carriage would seem to have pointed him out as a descendant of the Great Mogul, or at least of the Plantagenets, or Tudors. He had eight children. He loved the animated life of London, where he resided as agent of the island; but, by preferring the noise and bustle of Gerrard-street, Soho, to the verdant lawns and cedar groves of Port Royal, his country residence in Bermuda,† he did not, I fear, add to his paternal acres.

duction to the fragment extant, and remember that the autobiographer has only carried down the narrative to the commencement of his sixteenth year. "I may add," wrote Mr. Tucker in 1840, "that in sketching my past life, I shall have an opportunity of paying a just tribute of respect to those benefactors and friends whom I have loved, and whose friendship and regard have been to me the source of infinite gratification. I have been much in the way of observing men who have distinguished themselves in public life, and whose names will appear in history; and as I am habitually an attentive observer of character, I may from time to time be able to give some sketches of those eminent persons which will at least be interesting to my own family—I allude more particularly to my early patron, Sir William Jones, the good Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, Henry Colebrooke, Lords Minto, Hastings, and others." It need scarcely be added that such a memoir would not only have been perused with avidity by all Mr. Tucker's friends and cotemporaries, but would have afforded a contribution to authentic history, the value and the interest of which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

* At Crayford. There is a vault, at Milton, in Kent, which formerly belonged to the Tucker family.

† "'The still vexed Bermoothes,'" writes Mr. Tucker, "is a beautiful little island, or rather cluster of islands, extending about twenty miles from east to west, and about three from north to south. The Governor's residence was, in my time, at St. George's, near the eastern extremity of the cluster; but

"My father, his eldest son, was an accomplished gentleman in the best sense of the word, and in every sense of the word. I remember to have been present at a very earnest disputation, at the table of General C., on the proper signification of the term 'a perfect gentleman.' Some maintained that polished manners, an elegant address, and that ease and grace which

the seat of government has been since removed to 'Hamilton,' centrically situated in the principal island. 'Port Royal,' a sweet secluded country seat of my grandfather Tucker, was in the western part of the island. The great disadvantage of Bermuda arises from the circumstance of its being subject to violent storms. I recollect a terrific hurricane, which produced the most fearful devastation. I remember, too, to have seen a ball of fire, or electric discharge, which shivered the mast of a ship, and cast one of the fragments within a few yards of the portico of our house, where some of the family were assembled. Bermuda has never, I believe, been captured; an impunity which it owes, perhaps, quite as much to its coral-reefs as to the valor of its defenders. The French fleet made a demonstration off the island during the administration of my grandfather; but it did not venture to make an attack. Our poverty may, perhaps, have saved us. Although so young when I left the island, I well remember its scenery and localities, and have surprised some of my countrymen by my accurate delineation of its topography. I owe this knowledge, no doubt, to my frequent excursions on horseback.

"'Bermuda, parent of my early days!
To thee belong my tributary lays;
In thy blest clime, secured from infant harms,
A tender mother pressed me in her arms—
Lulled me to rest with many a ditty rare,
And looked, and smiled upon her infant care—
She taught my lisping accents how to flow,
And bade the virtues in my bosom glow.
Hail! Nature's darling spot, enchanted isle!
Where vernal blooms in sweet succession smile—
Where, cherished by the fostering sea-born gale,
Appears the tall Palmetto of the vale—
The rich banana, tenant of the shade,
With leaf broad-spreading, to the breeze displayed.
The fragrant lime—the lemon at its side,
And golden orange, fair Hesperia's pride—
The memorable* tree of aspect bold
Which graced thy plains, oh Lebanus! of old,'" &c. &c.

Bermudian.

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* The cedar is the most valuable product of the island, and is used in building our fast-sailing vessels.

can only be found in the best society, constituted the main elements in the character. Others contended that a high spirit, a cultivated taste, superior accomplishments, and a finished education, were indispensable requisites. Many names were brought forward by way of example, but they were all rejected in consequence of some attribute being wanting. At length a blunt old soldier (General M.) settled the question by declaring that '*he* was a gentleman who was incapable of a base or unworthy action.'

"Two of my paternal uncles settled in America—the one as a physician—the other as a lawyer; and both took an active part in the revolution. Thomas Tudor, the senior, was a member, I believe, of the first Congress; and during the last thirty years of his life, he held the responsible station of Treasurer of the United States. He was a Roman in spirit, as I have heard him described, without republican vulgarity, austerity, or presumption. He bequeathed about 20,000*l.* to his relatives, without distinction of country.

"His younger brother, St.George, united very harmoniously the character of soldier and judge, and was eminent in the latter capacity at a more advanced period of life. He married the widow Randolph, an American heiress, and mother of John Randolph, the late ambassador to St Petersburgh; and the fine estate of Ronoke, in Virginia, has now descended to his son, my cousin and namesake. His father had a taste for literature and poetry; and the following lines, written by him, were recited at my table by Mr. Rush, the Minister from the United States in this country:

"'Days of my youth! ye have glided away;
Hairs of my youth! ye are frosted and grey;
Eyes of my youth! your keen sight is no more;
Cheeks of my youth! ye are furrowed all o'er;
Strength of my youth! all your vigor is gone;
Thoughts of my youth! all your visions are flown!

"'Days of my youth! I wish not your recall;
Hairs of my youth! I'm content you should fall;
Eyes of my youth! ye much evil have seen;
Cheeks of my youth! bathed in tears have you been;
Thoughts of my youth! ye have led me astray;
Strength of my youth! why lament your decay?

"'Days of my age! ye will shortly be past;
Pains of my age! yet awhile can ye last;
Joys of my age! in true wisdom delight;
Eyes of my age! be Religion your light;
Thoughts of my age! dread not the cold sod;
Hopes of my age! be ye fixed on your God!'

"Dr. Nathaniel Tucker, another brother, who settled as a physician in Yorkshire, had still greater pretensions to poetry. He wrote the 'Bermudian,' and other poems, which would have passed very well in the days of Waller and Prior. . . . He then took a very serious turn, and engaged in the study of the more abstruse and mystical branches of theology, which did not promote his fortune or fame, nor add, I fear, to his happiness. I remember him well; and I have met with few persons of more mild, amiable, or dignified manners. I attended the funeral of his widow, who was followed to her grave by all the decent poor of the neighbourhood, among whom I could not discern many dry eyes. This circumstance struck me very forcibly; for I knew that she had not the means of being charitable; and why, then, should the poor weep? I have attended the funerals of the opulent and great without seeing a tear shed. I can only conclude that benevolence may supply the place of wealth, and touch the chords of the heart when the hand of munificence may fail to leave an impression.

"My maternal grandfather, George Bruere (*quasi* Bruyere), was a gallant old soldier; and from the name, and a remarkable vivacity of temper prevalent in his family, I should conjecture that he was of French extraction. He obtained the government of Bermuda as a reward for his services in the field; and he administered it for about twenty years as an honorable man. He had *fourteen* children!!

"I remember to have seen him, after rather copious libations, go through the evolutions of the battle of Culloden, and other great fights in which he was personally engaged. He marched and countermarched—charged the enemy with great vigor—handled his large stick with great skill and effect (albeit with some peril to those around him), and generally concluded with the shout of victory—the 'British Grenadiers'—or the popular

anthem of 'God save the King!' He was, heart and soul, a *Royalist;* while my grandfather Tucker, from his American connexions, took a favorable view of the American cause. The uncompromising Governor called the Americans '*rebels*'—a term of reproach which, naturally enough, gave mortal offence to one who, at the moment, had two sons to whom the opprobrious term applied. These proud spirits separated, never to meet again in friendly hall; the different members of the two families became estranged from each other; my father alone occupying a neutral ground, beloved and respected alike by Montague and Capulet.

"Several of my maternal uncles followed the honorable profession of their father. One was killed at 'Bunker's Hill;' another was so repeatedly perforated by the American rifles, that he died an invalid in Fort 'George,' or Fort 'Augustus,' in the Highlands of Scotland; a third (a lieutenant in the navy) was severely wounded while heading a boarding party in a night attack. The other brothers passed through life in the ordinary course.

"My excellent mother was the eldest daughter; she was an affectionate and exemplary wife; she devoted herself to the cares of her large family, and was estimable in all the relations of life. She survived my father* several years, and, in the absence of all her children, she died at Cheltenham in October, 1813; and the only act of filial piety which I could perform, on my return from India, was to inscribe a tablet to her memory in the church of that place."

Such were the two families surrounded by which

* My father had held the situation of Treasurer and Secretary, and President of the Council at Bermuda; and more than once held charge of the government for a considerable time; but had not interest to secure the succession permanently. When I returned to England in 1811, I was called upon, as his executor, to satisfy a demand of several thousand pounds which stood against the estate, in consequence of the miscarriage of some accounts; but he was so correct, and was so well known, that I experienced little difficulty in satisfying the Office of Colonial Audit; and the demand was reduced to 32*l.*, on account of the expense of a State boat, entertained, *not by him*, but by his *predecessor* in office.—H. St.G. T.

young Henry St.George passed the first ten years of his life. It is always curious — sometimes profitable—to consider the extent to which the child may have been father of the man. Not unmindful of the effect that early influences may have had in moulding and shaping his character, Mr. Tucker himself paused, at the threshold of his boyish narrative, to observe that "some of our deepest impressions are received at a very early age, and tend often to exercise an influence on our future lives." "We grow up," he said, "with the character which we have acquired as boys." Doubtless a vast deal of biographical ingenuity is displayed to very little purpose in tracing the connexion between the environments of the child and the actions of the man. And where authentic materials are scanty, these conjectural deductions often hover on the extreme verge of the Absurd. But without wandering into the regions of the great Far-fetched, something may presently be said about the early associations which Mr. Tucker has thus described, and their effect upon the character of the Man :

"I suspect," he says, after writing of the family feuds hinted at in the preceding extract, "that I was myself a bit of a rebel, for my next brother, George (a noble fellow ! prematurely lost to the service which he adorned), was domiciled at the Government House,* and as I resided much at 'Port Royal,' where

* I only envied George his residence at the Government House from his being in the way of hearing often my favorite song of the "Four-and-twenty Fiddlers," sung with great humour to please us children by the late Colonel Donkin (father of Sir Rufane), who commanded the garrison, and lived much at the Government House, where he was always a welcome guest. After an interval of thirty years, I found this stately octogenarian standing sentinel at

rebel councils prevailed, what could be more natural than that I, at the mature age of eight or nine, should aspire to become the leader of the popular faction? *Men* become patriots when they cannot otherwise distinguish themselves. Then why not *boys?*

"But my republican zeal was very much cooled by the French Revolution; and if a spark of it had remained, our own most contemptible revolution of 1830 would have extinguished it, and have fixed me, for life, a determined '*Conservative*.' Oh! for a Muse of fire, that I might scorch and consume those wretched, mischievous, unprincipled men, who urged on that fraudulent measure, for their own base purposes, to the ruin of their country!

"The disunion of our families, originating in the civil war, was productive of much inconvenience and discomfort, and might have produced serious evil.

"Late in the evening, at Port Royal, when night was beginning to cast her dark shades around, I perceived a strange man, muffled up to the ears, suddenly rush from the garden into the house, and I expected every moment to see him present a blunderbuss, or some other deadly weapon. But, to my surprise, the females of the family immediately threw themselves into his arms! Some sobbed—and some laughed—according to their several tastes, and all was agitation and violent emotion. This was quite inexplicable to me. The stranger was a *rebel*, but he was also a *son*, who, prompted by natural affection, had run some risk to pay a hasty clandestine visit to his family! My loyal grandsire would not have doomed him to the fate of poor Major Andrè; but, had he been discovered, he would not easily have found his way back to the rebel ranks.

"A great deal of clandestine intercourse took place, during the war, between the Bermudians and the Americans; and we had the honor of sending forth two very eminent *pirates*, who hovered about the island, and sometimes landed, not for the

the door of the York Hotel, in Bath. He had heard of my arrival, and was awaiting my return to the hotel. I recognised him instantly—and he greeted me as he had done when I was a child.—H. St.G. T.

purposes of plunder (for they were 'honorable men'), but to greet their relatives and friends, and to dispose of their surplus acquisitions. I once saw from the hills a beautiful chase—the brother pirates braved and defied his Majesty's ships. The little *Nautilus* sallied out, perfectly covered with canvas; but it was all in vain—nothing, at that time, could touch a Bermudian schooner. Her commander, Collins, succeeded afterwards in making a French line-of-battle ship strike her colors; but this was a more easy task than to capture the pirates. Both subsequently perished in some desperate encounter, in which their vessel was, I believe, blown up. . . . .

"I was delicate as a child, and being the first-born, I was, of course, indulged and spoilt. I became a little *epicure;* but it is remarkable that, in after-life, my tastes have been simple. I have preferred a simple diet, and have rarely committed excess. To the habit of temperance, early rising, and the love of exercise, I attribute (under Providence, to whom I owe more than I deserve!) that firm state of health which enables me to enjoy life at an advanced age.

"I was always fond of riding, and I was allowed to ride from one end of the island to the other, attended only by a negro servant, who generally held by the tail of my little mare. I sometimes went out with the negroes, to catch and bring in the horses from the field; and, on one occasion, I ventured to mount my father's favorite horse, 'Brilliant.' The spirited animal, with my light weight, and lighter hand, galloped off at full speed. He soon encountered a gate, which he gallantly cleared; but I, who could not carry his momentum with me, was left behind to clear it as I might, on foot.

"On another occasion, I owed a similar disaster to my tenderness for my mare. I would not allow her girths to be drawn too tight, lest they should hurt her. I mounted, with a cousin of my own age seated behind me. We dashed off; but the saddle, abusing its liberty, suddenly swung round, and my cousin and myself, in illustration of the theory of Sir Isaac Newton, gravitated incontinently to the ground!

"But I met with a more serious accident, in a boating ex-

cursion, which nearly proved fatal to me. We sailed about the harbour, and landed in a neighbouring isle, where we were kindly received, and regaled with 'milk punch,' a beverage to me before unknown. I became much exhilarated, and in the overflow of my spirits, on the way back, I clambered up the mast of the boat, and either jumped, or fell, overboard. I sank of course, for I could not swim—I sank again; but, rising to the surface, a negro, who was in the stern of the boat, caught me by the hair, and drew me back into the boat, almost in a lifeless state. The servants carried me home in all haste. My parents were fortunately absent. I was dried and warmed at the kitchen fire, and none, I believe, but the parties present, were aware of the occurrence.

"My grandsire, the Governor, was exposed to some danger about this time. A detachment (on its way, I think, to the siege of Charlestown) landed in the island; and a young officer belonging to it, taking it into his head to fall in love with the person, or perhaps the reputed *fortune*, of a young lady of St. George's, and the beauty (or perchance her father) not encouraging his addresses, he became desperate, cut off the small joint of his little finger, enclosed it to her in a letter, and protested that he would go on to sever and transmit to her joint after joint until she should accept his suit.

"For this prank he was placed under arrest, and my grandfather, passing near the window of his barracks, the young ruffian, or madman, discharged a pistol at him, which nearly took effect. Why he was not shot for the outrage, I do not know; but he escaped, and many years afterwards he was met by one of my brothers, on service, in the command of a battalion of the Rajah of Travancore.

"I cannot vouch for the fact of his having made love in so novel a fashion, because I did not see the propitiatory offering; but it was currently reported and believed in the island, and I have, even at this time, a perfect recollection of the individual. I was struck by his appearance, in consequence of his wearing a splendid masquerade dress, such as I had never seen before—he personated, I think, a Hessian officer; and although very

diminutive, and possessing feminine rather than manly beauty, his countenance and costume were such as to attract and rivet the attention of a boy.

"Before this period, I obtained a memorable victory over my grandsire, which I must record. I was counting at his table, after dinner, the seeds of a melon, and he, little dreaming that I was one day to become the Accountant-General of India, and distrusting my arithmetical powers, promised to give me a pistreen for every seed, if my enumeration should prove to be correct. The number was not small. They were counted and recounted by the umpire, and it was decided that I had won the prize. The next morning, my father's breakfast-table exhibited the splendid trophy. I had never, perhaps, seen so much money before, and my joy and exultation were great. Is it not possible that this little circumstance may have had some effect in directing my mind in after-life to the study of Finance? I might never have had the control and appropriation of millions upon millions, if I had not succeeded in counting some dozen, or hundred, seeds of a melon! Hence it is deducible that the financier sprung from a melon-seed! 'This,' *Horatio* might say, 'were to examine too curiously.' 'Not a whit,' quoth *Hamlet*."

It were not, at all events, to examine too curiously, to surmise that all this riding and boating tended to form the sturdy, robust, moral character of the man, no less than to establish the vigorous physical constitution, which lasted him fourscore years. There were, fortunately for young Tucker, no pedagogues, and, perhaps, few books in his island-home. His schoolroom was amidst the eternal greenery or among the sharp rocks of the "vexed Bermoothes." His chief preceptor seems to have been the Saddle. There is more than it is the fashion to acknowledge in such teaching as this. Fresh air and free exer-

cise were the aliments which strengthened the boy, and developed the hardy qualities of the man. This was the real training—the ineffaceable discipline of Nature—which did more to form his after-character—to prepare him for the great life-work of doing and suffering, than any of the accidents upon which he more emphatically dwelt. It is no small thing, having to trace the career of one whose manliness of character was in all things conspicuous; who was, indeed, pre-eminently a man among men; to know that in early boyhood he was much subjected to the voluntary discipline of the Saddle. It little matters what books a boy is taught to read during the first ten years of his life. But it is of the first moment that he should be suffered to enjoy free libations of air and exercise—and the freest of all are to be enjoyed in the saddle. Nothing could be more full of promise than the words, "I was always fond of riding, and was allowed to ride from one end of the island to the other."

As to the rest, it hardly seems that there is much connexion between either the early influences or the early indications of character, glanced at in the Autobiography, and the adult developments of which I shall presently come to speak. The Republican boy grew into a robust Tory. The little "Epicure" of Bermuda lived to content himself with fare both coarse and scanty; to face all privation with a cheerful countenance, and all hardship without a murmur of complaint.

The real training of the boy was, as has been said,

in those hard gallops across the island, and those boating excursions on the coast. It was time enough to think seriously about book-learning when young Henry St.George was ten years old, and good opportunity offered for the safe conveyance of himself and his next brother, George, to England. How it was may be told in the words of the Autobiography:

"Early in 1781,* my veteran grandsire terminated his honorable career; and my father, who was anxious to give us the benefit of a good education, determined to send my brother George and myself to England for the purpose, under the care of our kind-hearted grandmother, who had now become a widow. There were no means of education at the time in Bermuda, and mine had scarcely commenced. My father was too much engaged with his official labors, and my mother with the cares of a household and large nursery, to admit of their giving me any instruction beyond a little reading, and less writing.

"The family feud abated, but was not entirely extinguished, by the death of my grandfather Bruere; and at a later period, in England, it showed itself in a very trifling incident. One of my maternal uncles sent me with a letter to Charles James Fox; but, unluckily, I called, on my way to Grafton-street, on my grandfather Tucker, and he learnt my errand. He looked at the letter with an expression of indignation—he was much enraged, and I suspected that he would have torn it in pieces, in which case I should have had a very difficult account to settle with the choleric Captain, who, on another very trivial occasion, had treated me with a pretty smart box on the ear.† Better feelings, however, prevailed; and I delivered the letter. My grandsire had no dislike to Mr. Fox, although the opponent

* Mr. Williams, in his "History of the Bermudas," says that Governor Bruere died in September, 1780.

† I suspect that my rebel predilections may have given pungency to my poor uncle's displeasure; for he had but too much reason to complain of the American sharpshooters.—H. St.G. T.

in Westminster of his friend, Sir Cecil Wray. His indignation was excited at the idea that one of his race should be converted into a letter-carrier by one with whom he was not on speaking terms.

"Preparatory to our departure, I paid farewell visits to all my relatives and friends in the island, and was overloaded with presents. Cousin Tudor gave me a large fat sheep, the pride of his flock—others sent jellies and preserves, and all some token of regard and remembrance. But the most magnificent present which I received was from a worthy auctioneer of the name of Smith, who had collected a variety of English coins in the course of his business, and these he generously presented to me. He was not at all connected with our family, nor could he have been influenced by the circumstance of my admiring his pretty little daughter, 'Jenny Smith,' because I also admired 'Jenny Kelly,' and another rustic beauty at the opposite end of the island. The fact is, that my father was very popular from his gracious manners, and from that something which denotes innate benevolence. They say 'Poeta nascitur non fit;' and so I say of a gentleman. He must be born and bred one. We were taught to take off our hats to the lowest person whom we met; and this was no small condescension in one of my birth and dignity! My anxious mother, with much good advice before parting, explained to me that it was not necessary *to take off my hat to every person in the streets of London;* but habit is strong, and even now, when I repair to the stables for my horse, I interchange bows* with the coachmen and ostlers, and all the little idle urchins whom I encounter in the mews.

* A Bermudian Justice, who had, I suppose, acquired the same habit, had a wicked trick played off upon him on his arrival in London. A wag, who had probably read the "Fool of Quality," and who had observed the Justice's simplicity, pinned a label upon the back of his coat, describing his name and quality. He sallied out to explore. The passers-by read the paper, and some loud enough for him to hear. He was delighted that his name and fame should have gone before him. Some accosted him—"How do ye do, Mr. Justice ——?" "How does your wife do?" "What's the last news from Bermuda?" The Justice bowed, and smiled, and bowed again, and thought the "Lunoners" the civilest and best informed people in the world. I do not know how the adventure ended; but it is upon such slender premises, I fear, that we sometimes build our fame, and rest our conclusions.—H. St.G. T.

"The hour of departure at length arrived, and we embarked in April, 1781, on the good ship *Diligentia*, a Spanish prize, leaving many wet eyes behind us. Our little captain, who I suspect was a Welshman, was determined, like another Van Tromp, to sweep the seas. He bore a letter of marque; and he chased everything. The goodly *Diligentia* moved like a castle upon the waters; but still we pursued everything that ran away from us. One heavy Dutchman we thought to have caught, for she was as heavy as ourselves. I watched her with eager eyes for many hours—sometimes we seemed to near her, and then again she increased her distance; but, at length, night came on, and she escaped from us, or we from her.

"One fine morning, a long, low frigate, bearing French colors, and of French build, came sweeping down upon us. She did not give us time to chase her, as we should have done—just as the heroic Sir William Meadowes was accustomed to chase Tippoo Sultan; but we were resolved to show fight. The boatswain's whistle called to quarters—the men were at their guns—the little captain strutted the quarter-deck, an inch higher—and even the 'quakers' on the quarter-deck seemed impatient 'to give tongue;' when, lo! the frigate fired a shot across our bows, hauled her wind, and hoisted English colors! I will not undertake to say who was most glad or sorry at this sight; but this I remember, that, instead of round and canister shot, which must soon have riddled the good ship *Diligentia*, we received round bottles of 'capillaire' and 'orgeat,' and canisters of sundry good things which had recently escaped from the West Indies. The frigate was H.M.'s ship *L'Oiseau*; and the courteous commander, hearing that the hospitable hostess who had so often entertained the officers of H.M.'s navy in Bermuda was on board, gallantly sent us every little delicacy which his ship afforded. Here, again, we see the gentleman.

"On one occasion, our bellicose propensities were like to have been put to a rough trial. A French privateer, under English colors, ran under our stern. I stole up from the cabin below to see the fun, and placed myself near the taffrail, from whence I

could have thrown a biscuit into the vessel. She was crowded with men, who thronged the forecastle and bowsprit, ready to board; but our little captain was nothing daunted. He ran out his stern-chaser—made every preparation to receive the assault —put on so good a face, and gave his orders with such coolness and determination (every word of which, I suspect, must have been heard by the Frenchman), that the enemy became discouraged, and soon sheered off. *We* then, as usual, *gave chase;* but to the amusement, I presume, if not to the mortification, of the Frenchman. Had he shown more pluck, we must have become his prize; for he greatly outnumbered us, to all appearance, in men, while his vessel was more manageable. It is very strange, but I do not recollect that I felt at all afraid at the moment. I have often experienced the uneasy sensation of fear; but on this occasion curiosity, or the novelty and excitement of the scene, or perhaps ignorance of the danger, appear to have suppressed all feeling of its presence.

"At length, after a passage of seven weeks, we safely landed at Portsmouth."

The two brothers were put to school at Hampstead, under the care of a Dr. Alexander, who seems to have had small Latin and less Greek. But he had provided competent teachers, and young Tucker, who had learnt little in the Bermudas to place him in a high form at Hampstead, fired by emulation, pushed forward rapidly, but perhaps somewhat superficially, and soon acquired tolerable proficiency in the learned languages. His own account of his schoolboy days has little that is remarkable in it. It is, indeed, a sort of general transcript of the scholastic experiences of the grandsires of the present generation of schoolboys:

"We reached England early in June, 1781, and were kindly

welcomed by my grandfather Tucker, who carried me to the theatre (I think) the night after our arrival, to see the 'Clandestine Marriage.' Everything was, of course, new and wonderful to the island boy; but the indulgence nearly proved fatal to me. I was inoculated for the small-pox a few days afterwards; but the enemy had already insinuated itself into the citadel, and my life was in imminent peril for some weeks, the least evil apprehended being the loss of my sight. I recovered, however, under the rough treatment which prevailed at that time, and I was indebted mainly to the kind care and attentions of an aunt for the preservation of my sight, and perhaps (under Divine Providence) for life itself.

"But I came forth most wofully disfigured. For some time I was not permitted to look in a glass; and when I first saw myself, after my recovery, I was horror-struck at the change. A shaved head, inflamed eyes, deep scars and indentations, produced a face on which the furies might have been supposed to have carried on a sanguinary conflict. 'Well,' observed one of my aunts, 'you have now, Henry, lost all your good looks, and you have nothing for it but to make yourself agreeable by your manners and accomplishments.' Here was cold comfort; but the words made an impression upon my mind, and may possibly have had some influence on my future life.

"In August, 1781, I was placed, with my brother George, who was two years younger than myself, at Dr. Alexander's school at Hampstead—an establishment where much was done to furnish the *head*, but very little to supply *another* important functionary. Our fare was very indifferent, and of those articles whose quality was unobjectionable the supply was scanty and insufficient.

"The first evening after my installation I was presented with a coarse slice of bread and butter. This I held up in my hand, demanding, in a peremptory tone, if it were 'meant for my supper?' The woman stared in silence, and I indignantly threw back into her tray the offensive article. A little urchin near me whispered, meanwhile, 'Give it to me—give it to me;'

but the die was cast, and the good woman quietly proceeded on with her tray.

"The keen air of Hampstead, however, produced a wonderful change in my appetite; and the next evening I not only accepted the proffered slice, but I should not have felt myself insulted if the whole loaf had followed.

" To our hard puddings, which were always a prelude to the meat, I never could reconcile myself; and, when no famished boy was to be found, they were usually consigned to our pockets, and many a volley have I seen fly over our next neighbour's wall, after dinner. Happily no accident occurred, but if man or animal had been in the way, these bullets, like the famous gun of Tippoo Sultan, would have erased from his forehead the decrees of Destiny itself.

"On entering the school, I was mortified to find that we were placed at the bottom, and below boys younger than myself; but pride gave a spur to my exertions, and I was soon brought forward very rapidly, and, indeed, too rapidly, for I passed over books which I ought to have read, and I was made to read books (Juvenal, &c.) which I could not understand. Horace and Homer were my favorite authors, and Greek my favorite language; and if I had applied to it two or three years longer, I should probably have made no inconsiderable proficiency; but I acquired everything hastily, and consequently superficially.

" Dr. A. piqued himself upon his French, but he was not a classical scholar; and we, senior boys, would have thought it quite ridiculous if he had interfered with our Latin or Greek. He had, however, the good sense to engage a good Grecian as senior usher (Hamilton), and our Latin master (Lorimer) was full of zeal. George was a special favorite with him, and he used to make us recite the odes of Horace, as a *great treat*, during the hours which might otherwise have been given to rest or recreation.

"I was not fond of Euclid, and I made small progress in Mathematics, a circumstance which I have had occasion to regret

throughout life. Feeling the want so much, I was induced, at the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight, to commence the study of Algebra; but it was then too late to become a mathematician. For drawing I had no turn, and all my lines were run by the rule and compass. I was fond of fencing, but I never became a powerful or skilful swordsman. Dancing seemed to have come to me as from nature, for I was scarcely credited when I mentioned, on my *début*, that I had not been previously taught.

"I soon became very fond of novels and romances, and particularly of Spanish and Eastern tales; and I suspect that the 'Arabian Nights' and the 'Tales of the Genii' may have had something to do in sending me to India, although it is scarcely possible to imagine a greater contrast than that presented between the gorgeous palaces of the East and the midshipman's berth on the orlop deck of an Indiaman.

"The first novel which fell into my hands was the 'Fool of Quality;' and although it was probably foolish enough, I recollect that I strained my eyes to devour it, in the twilight of a summer's evening. 'Pamela' followed, and nothing came amiss, excepting Richardson's most tedious 'Clarissa Harlowe,' which I never had patience to read to a conclusion.

"There are few things in the life of a schoolboy worth remembering, and few which I remember; but trifles sometimes keep possession of the memory from particular associations.

"I well recollect the first ascent of Lunardi's balloon, which I saw to great advantage, and which struck me as something very wonderful. Godwin had not written his 'Political Justice' at the time, or he might have instanced this triumph of mind over matter, in illustration of his theory, although it is now become so familiar to us as scarcely to attract attention. In fact, science of late years has produced so many greater wonders, that travelling in the air is considered to be fit only to attract the gaze of the vulgar. Even a Lord Mayor's show, which appeared to be so fine and imposing a spectacle, with the men in armour, would be regarded by a modern schoolboy as a gaudy, idle pageant. Such has been the advance of knowledge!

"I had several skirmishes while at Hampstead; but only two

regular battles. The first scuffle was with the Honorable Thomas Douglas, subsequently well known as Lord Selkirk; and I cannot guess how we should have had an altercation, for he was very reserved, and seldom engaged in our play. Indeed, he kept aloof from us, and seemed to be entirely absorbed in his own meditations. He often swung himself from the branch of an old tree at the bottom of our playground; and I can almost fancy that I see him in his usual contemplative mood, with head in air, to all appearance counting the leaves above him.

"My first battle took place with a French boy soon after I entered the school. He was much older and taller than myself, but lame and very awkward, and not at all skilled in the art of boxing, in which I was myself a novice. After being engaged for some time in a very desultory warfare, the odds turned in my favor; and my opponent, becoming much enraged, made a furious onset, seized me by the head, and endeavoured by one great effort to bring my face into close contact with his knee; when, lo! off came my wig—and the astonished Frenchman, holding up this vain trophy, seemed to expect that the head would follow; but I was not idle in the mean time, and after a short struggle, victory declared in my favor.

"The termination of my next contest was very different indeed. My opponent was younger than myself, but much more strong and weighty, and a most skilful pugilist. He beat me to a dead stand-still; and I could at last scarcely support myself against the wall, or return his blows. He was victorious, of course; but I was exceedingly provoked at being scolded and taunted afterwards by a pert little housemaid for having struck her 'pet boy.' A plague upon such pet boys; for I was feeling at the moment most sensibly the effects of his sturdy blows.

"We generally spent our holidays with our kind grandmother; but in the summer of 1783 we accompanied a part of the school to Margate, for the advantage of sea-bathing. About fifty or sixty of us were crammed into a hoy; and having had a long passage, we passed a night on board in the most comfortless condition. We were huddled together in a small cabin,

some lying longitudinally, others transversely and diagonally over them, and nearly all suffering from sea-sickness. I was one of the very few who escaped this annoyance; but it being known, on our landing, that I had not been sick, I was immediately ordered a dose of physic. It seemed to me strange and illogical that I should be required to take physic because I was well; but Alexander the Great (not he of Macedon) troubled himself very little with logic in such cases, and we knew he had an instrument which would have silenced Aristotle himself. Upon another occasion I was treated much in the same way. Most of the boys had what is called the 'influenza,' for want of a better title. *I* felt quite well; but our old apothecary, wisely concluding that, if I were not sick, I ought to be, under any theory, whether the thing were contagious or epidemic, or neither the one nor the other, I was unceremoniously subjected to the same course of discipline. Happily, however, I was not often caught in his net.

"In 1785 we enacted the tragedy of 'Hamlet, the Dane;' and really it was very well performed. The insignificant part of *Osrick* was assigned to me; but in the after-piece I was rather better provided for in the character of the Frenchman in Garrick's farce of 'Lethe.' We afterwards rehearsed the tragedy of 'Cato;' and there I had allotted to me the important part of *Miss Marcia;* but whenever *Juba* began to recite the lines: 'The lovely *Marcia* towers above her sex—True, she is fair, oh how divinely fair,' the boys were all in a titter, and I was forcibly reminded of the small-pox. It was cruel to make me personate a Roman belle, prude though she may have been; but luckily I left the school before I was called upon to perpetrate this part, or that of *Termagant,* in a farce, whose title even I do not now recollect."

It was intended that young Tucker should be trained for the legal profession. His father probably conceived that his local interest would enable Henry St.George to secure for himself a competence by practising at the Bermudian Bar. But the boy had

no taste for such drudgery as this; and when, in the course of the Christmas holidays of 1785-86, one of his aunts asked him whether he would like to visit India, he appears to have grasped eagerly at the offer of such an escape from the thraldom of the schoolroom and the lawyer's desk. It seems that she had no delegated authority to make any such proposal. The impulse was, doubtless, a kindly one; the act belonged to the great family of the Well-meant. A very mischievous family it is; but in this case, at least, the unwarrantable interference of the good lady, shaping as it did the whole career of Henry St.George Tucker, produced results which, had she lived to see them, she might have regarded with a smile of complacency and a thrill of delight.

And so it was thus hastily determined that the boy should "go out to India." It does not appear that his aunt had formed any very clear conception of what he was to do there, or had very far-seeing projects for his future advancement in life. There were merchant-ships always sailing for the Indian ports, and there was little difficulty in obtaining for a hardy, healthy boy of good family a midshipman's berth on board an Indiaman. So Henry St.George Tucker, at the age of fifteen, became a midshipman on board a merchant-ship. The history of his departure and of his voyage to India shall be told in his own words:

"In December, 1785, I bade adieu to Hampstead for the holidays, never to return; for my good aunt T., having incidentally asked me if I should like to go out to India, I eagerly

caught at the idea, and my destiny was soon decided. She had the best motives, no doubt, for her object was to relieve my father from the charge of my education; but she assumed an authority which did not belong to her, and she contravened all his plans for my future establishment in life. *My* predominant feeling was, perhaps, to get rid of the discipline of a school, and to avoid the laborious process of preparing for the law, the profession for which my father had destined me. I was also, perhaps, influenced by the prospect of realising some of the scenes in those Eastern fictions which had delighted my imagination.

"My father, however, was much displeased and grieved at this hasty and most unjustifiable proceeding, which separated us for ever, never to meet again; and I received from him a letter of reproof, which cut me to the very heart. It was one of the most impressive productions of the kind which I ever read, and I wish that I could insert it here, as a model of that sort of composition which is produced by strong feeling, coming directly from the heart of an affectionate parent; but when it reached me I was 15,000 miles off, hunting wild animals on the plains of Behar.

"It having been thus hastily decided that I should proceed to India, and in the situation of a midshipman on board an Indiaman, I was forthwith sent to attend Mr. Wales, the circumnavigator and astronomer, at Christ's Hospital, for the purpose of being instructed in navigation; but in six or eight weeks I could not learn much. Indeed, I merely went over the ground which I had previously traversed at school; or if I acquired anything, it was simply the application of trigonometry to some practical purposes. No attempt was made to instruct me in nautical astronomy.

"In March, 1786, I was to embark in the *William Pitt*, Captain Charles Mitchell, and to bid adieu to England and my family, perhaps for ever; but few of my relatives were in town, and the parting was not, I believe, very painful. My kind aunt T. presented me with a couple of guineas, enjoining me not to mention the circumstance to Captain T., who would

furnish my purse with the necessary supply; but he, knowing the world and its ways, bluntly asked me what my aunt had given me, and I was obliged to confess the fact. 'Very good —that will do,' was the only remark which escaped him; and I was left, somewhat disappointed, and not exactly satisfied with his slender premises or questionable conclusions.

"But I started for Gravesend in grand style, in a carriage and four, with the Purser and public despatches, and two other youngsters, midshipmen like myself.

"The following morning we were called into the cuddy, successively, to receive our impress money, or an advance of two months' wages; and the good man who held the money-bags fortunately asked me if I had ever been at sea before. I, not knowing the object of the question, promptly answered that I had. 'I am glad of it, young gentleman, for we have too many land-lubbers among us.' This stamped me at once as an ordinary, if not an able seaman, and my wages were regulated accordingly. And here let it be observed that, as I had suffered by my candor in one instance, it was but fair that I should gain by the same adherence to truth in another. My wages enabled me to contribute a small sum towards my mess, and to purchase a keg of gin in the Downs, of which I was never a large consumer.

"In these said Downs my troubles commenced, and I experienced discomfort enough. The ship was crammed with investment, and crowded with Irish recruits. The very first night my great-coat and my cot, with all its appurtenances, were carried off, and I never saw them more—at least, in a way to identify them. There were seventeen midshipmen on board, and the berth allotted to us on the orlop deck was only sufficient to enable four to hang their cots, or hammocks. I took possession of the chest on which our meals were served; but even for this hard couch I was obliged to maintain a sharp struggle; and as I was successful, I trust that fortune was not blind. Our senior midshipman and coxswain, seeing my state of destitution, and being in a different watch, allowed me to turn in and out with him for a week or ten days; but I was so

sleepy-headed that he found it difficult to rouse me, and this indulgence was soon withdrawn; and during the greater part of the voyage I slept on a hen-coop on the poop; and as our poultry diminished, I sometimes, to avoid the rain, crept into the hen-coop itself.

"I had another source of discomfort. A great lumbering chest, which Captain T. had formerly used as a store-chest, contained my clothes and necessaries. For a day or two it remained on deck, the object of constant abuse, for it was in everybody's way; but it being difficult to find room for it below, it was consigned to the fore-hatchway, where it became the dining-table of our Hibernian recruits. This would have been all very well; but these Irish lads, by perpetually jumping upon it, opened a large seam, or crack, in the lid, which in consequence freely admitted their pea-soup. Unluckily, too, the chest contained not only my clothes, but a supply of rusks and gingerbread nuts; and the soup, entering into a combination with these precious articles, my chest was in a condition which it would not be easy to depict. Besides, I could seldom obtain access to it; and I have often remained wet and dirty, without the possibility of obtaining a change of linen. . . . I might have supplied myself with jackets and trousers from the purser's stores; but then I was anxious to keep my wages untouched, that I might have my pockets full on my return home.

"Our first attempt to get out to sea was unsuccessful, and we were compelled to return to the Downs; but it proved a pretty sharp *début* for us young gentlemen on the poop.

"Our chief mate (the son of a Deal pilot) was every inch of him a thorough-bred seaman, and a brave officer; but he was a perfect tiger in a blue coat. He told us at starting that we must manage all the after-sails, the mizen-mast and its appendages being our peculiar charge. Well, there is no great difficulty in getting under weigh. Sails can be hoisted, and sheets and braces hauled by inexperienced hands; but the wind headed us, and a gale came on, attended with sleet and extreme cold. Every reef of the mizen-topsail was ordered to be taken in, and

the sail to be furled. Here came the tug of war—'hoc opus, hic labor.' We were to lie out on the yard-arm, where two-thirds of us had never been before. No assistance was allowed below, not even to trim the yards for the purpose of shaking the sail. This hard, unbending sail, like ourselves, had never been at sea before. It was made more unmanageable, if possible, by the sleet and the wind, which forced it over the yard. We were exposed to this persecuting sleet and intense cold for (I think) about two hours, until we succeeded, at length, in securing the sail, after successively taking in every reef; when we were permitted to come down, benumbed and exhausted. We soon after bore up, and returned to our anchorage in the Downs.

"The trial was a rough one; but it had the effect of making all difficulties appear light thenceforward. Of this I had practical proof in my own case. Some weeks after we had been at sea, we were suddenly assailed by what is called a 'white squall,' without the slightest indication of its approach. The ship was laid on her beam-ends—the ports were to be secured—halliards, sheets, and braces were let go—and everything was in a state of most admired confusion. *Our* after-sails were got in first, and I was ordered up, with three after-guardsmen, to furl the maintop-gallant-sail, for it was impossible all at once to man all the yards, and attend to everything which the emergency required. But, unluckily, one of the lifts had given way, and the yard, from its accustomed horizontal position, assumed the perpendicular. I was desired to lie out, or rather lie down, on the yard, to get hold, if possible, of the lee-leach of the sail. Here was a mighty pretty office for a young gentleman of fifteen; but there was no time for reflection, and down I went, scarcely expecting to return, for the difficulty of maintaining my hold on a dangling yard, with a blustering sail to deal with, was very great. What would my poor parents have felt if they had seen, or fancied me, suspended aloft in a position perpendicular to the boiling sea below? I think I see the white foam at this moment, although half an hour before the sea had been calm and unruffled. But I happily got back in safety, from a situation where the slightest misadventure or unsteadiness must have proved fatal.

How often have I been mercifully preserved by that gracious Power to whom I owe so many blessings!

"While on this theme, I may as well recount a few accidents which occurred to me on board, for the purpose of illustrating the life of a midshipman in an Indiaman some fifty years ago.

"On being suddenly aroused one night from sleep on the poop, I stepped, as I thought, from a hen-coop, upon the deck of the said poop; but to my great surprise, I alighted on the quarter-deck, but without breaking my bones, or other injury, beyond the shock at the instant.

"During a very rainy night, I had ensconced myself under the mat-covering of a carriage, which had been placed (much out of place) in the front part of the poop over the awning; but falling asleep, as was my wont, and the matting being decayed or injured by these nocturnal visits, I slipped through, and was precipitated with great violence on the quarter-deck. I was grievously bruised and stunned, and I scarcely recovered my consciousness until morning, having been huddled under the awning out of the way, like any other useless lumber, by some *good-natured* quartermaster; but in a few days I was upon my legs again, and indeed, I never absented myself from my watch, or received medical treatment.

"One of the important duties of a midshipman is to hold the candle when any work is going on below. On one of these occasions, when we were moving or getting out some stores, a brute of a quartermaster pitched a keg of pickled salmon in a direction to strike me forcibly on the back. I thought that my breath was gone, and my back broken; but things came round in time, and no complaint was made of this brutality, for that would only have produced a feud among those who were near neighbours on the orlop, and not otherwise very well disposed towards each other.

"Another inappreciable privilege of the midshipman was to visit the coal-hole *without a candle,* and alone, for the spirit-room was at hand, where a light would be dangerous; but unluckily a grapnail had been placed across the entrance to this dark cavern at the bottom of the ship, and we boys could only

squeeze ourselves in upon all fours, and shovel out the coals with our hands into a large basket in the gangway. I had, on one occasion, successfully gone through this tedious process—the basket was full, and was hoisted up slowly until it had nearly reached the deck, when—through accident or design (but I suspect the latter)—it was toppled over, and a shower of coals came rattling down, to my astonishment and dismay. I had just a moment to withdraw my head hastily into the dark coal-hole, or that head would in an instant have been in a condition to defy the manipulation of Dr. Spurzheim himself. . . . .

"I was never 'mast-headed' but once as a punishment, and perhaps I deserved it. The boy with whom I had a struggle for the mess-chest as a bed, called upon me to heave the log; but I, fancying myself as good a man as himself, desired that *he* would hold the reel, and *I* would heave the log. He refused, and I persisted, and between us the log was not hove; but the omission was discovered, and the hour of reckoning arrived; and both parties having been found guilty, we were both ordered up for two hours to the main-yard-arm, first up to take the weather-yard. I obtained this honorable distinction; and the main-yard, it must be admitted, offered a pretty fair seat, and sufficient accommodation; but as I always distrusted my propensity to sleep (for it was during the night), I took care to secure myself by a gasket, or some other lashing. I came well off, with only four bells; as one of our boys was kept at the mast-head, either from design or forgetfulness, for nearly a whole day, and we were obliged to supply his wants clandestinely from below.

"It may be asked if such sharp discipline did not sometimes occasion accidents. One did occur with us. A boy was knocked down, or pushed down, in the dark, and falling against a ring-bolt, broke his thigh. But he was indulged in consequence with a hammock full six weeks or more. Lucky rogue!

"While I allude to occurrences somewhat tinctured with severity, I ought not to omit a circumstance which was highly creditable to the spirit and decision of our chief officer. Our recruits, who had been reinforced by a party from Madras, and

who were certainly in a state of great discomfort from want of the necessary accommodation, broke out into a serious riot; and they became so violent and ungovernable that it was judged necessary for the officers and others to come armed to the quarter-deck. One of the ringleaders was seized and lashed to the main-shrouds for punishment, when an accomplice, who had perched himself in the long boat, called out most vociferously, 'If one is to be punished, we'll all be punished.' The chief officer darted through the crowd, was on the booms in an instant, seized the man by the collar, placing a pistol at his head, and coolly told him that he should be the *first* example. The man uttered not a word—the crowd silently made way—and the offender received two dozen, which would have satisfied the most craving appetite. Only two punishments took place, of two dozen each; but these two dozen, in intrinsic value, were probably equivalent to 1000 lashes, which the parties might have received for a similar offence on shore. Upon the whole, although no connoisseur in these matters, I am disposed to prefer our marine 'cat-o'-nine-tails,' for it does not unnecessarily prolong the torture.

"I do not dislike salt-junk; but it would be quite as agreeable to have a little change in the course of four or five months. I did, it is true, *once* during the voyage receive, for my portion, about a cubic inch of roast mutton, which the captain's steward, in an unaccountable fit of charity, or caprice, presented to the mess. A young shark's tail, too, now and then offered some variety, although it was not at all equal to the whale cutlets which we have in Bermuda. But the luxury of all luxuries, the dinner which would have given an appetite to Sir W. C—— himself, with nothing more than his own hard biscuits, was an enormous sea-pie, made of albatrosses and other sea-fowl, which we had taken with the hook and line. Such a dinner I never saw before, and never shall see again; and it was enjoyed by us more than any ever set forth at the London Tavern.

"I had another pleasant little treat on Sunday evenings, when the weather was fair. Our good purser, Mr. Begbie, used to assemble four or five of us in his cabin, where we read

a chapter in the Bible, and were afterwards regaled with gingerbread and a glass of wine or cherry-brandy. This made us pass our Sunday evenings very comfortably, and I always looked forward to them with pleasure, especially as on that day I generally contrived, in the absence of my tenants, the recruits, to obtain access to my chest for a clean shirt, as well as the other means of cleaning myself, and appearing like an officer and a gentleman.

"We reached Madras on the 26th of July, just four months after our departure from the Downs; and nothing can be more curious, or strike a traveller more forcibly, than the sight of the numerous catamarans, or, as it would seem, naked men, black as coal, walking, as it were, upon the sea. The song of the Mussoola boatmen is also new and pleasing to a stranger—'Ali —Ali—Emaum Ali Yar! Ali—l'Ali—Ali l'Ali!'

"I had lost a wager to one of my messmates of a dozen of ducks; and, whether through his influence, or my own extraordinary merit and trustworthiness, I was sent on shore in charge of the first boat, conveying stores, or investment, to the beach. This was too favorable an opportunity to be lost, and I was commissioned to add a *pig* to my dozen of ducks, for the purpose of having a proper *cheveau* on the very next day, which I believe was Sunday. I succeeded admirably. The ducks gave me no trouble, for they were dead; but a live pig is a queer customer, and I not only had some trouble with him, but when he was handed up the side of the ship with all due ceremony, he squeaked so lustily as to attract the quick ear, or keen eye, of our chief officer. This was a *contretemps* which gave me much vexation.

"The next morning I was placed on general duty, and was employed *incessantly* under the immediate eye of the chief officer himself, until it pleased him to retire from the quarter-deck to take a hasty dinner. My ducks, in the mean time, had been roasted, served up, and nearly consumed, with the little rascal of a pig. No time was to be lost. Down I went to the orlop, to feast upon the *débris;* but I had a certain presentiment, or misgiving, that I should not be allowed to pick my

bones in peace, so I prepared for the worst, like a skilful general who foresees a manœuvre on the part of his opponent. Anon a gruff voice thundered down the hatchway, 'Below there! Midshipman Tucker!' I lost not a moment. Off went my shirt, and in an instant I sprang upon the medicine-chest, which occupied the hatch, almost in a state of nature. I then made a pathetic appeal to the immutable principles of justice—urged that I had been at work the whole morning—had not had time to clean myself, nor (I might have added) to pick the bones of my delicious ducks. The tiger growled, and went on in search of other prey. This was a triumph not unworthy of Alexander, with the advantage of not shedding a drop of blood; and I proceeded, with some exultation, to finish my dainty repast, too long delayed.

"The next day I received a kind invitation from Colonel Grattan, the brother of the great Irish orator, to pay him a visit, and I went on shore without delay, dressed in all my best. I was graciously received by the colonel and his lady, who, as Miss Carey, before her marriage, had resided with my uncle in Calcutta. The colonel was a grave, reserved man, but I liked him, because I fancied he resembled my father, whom I was not fated to see again. Mrs. Grattan was a bonnie lassie, very good-humoured—a great contrast to the colonel; and I liked her, because she carried me to a grand ball at the Government House, and did all in her power to contribute to my amusement during the ten days we remained at Madras.

"We made the passage to the Sand-heads without accident; but bringing up in Saugor roads, our anchor got foul, and we had the utmost difficulty in weighing it. The utmost force of the lever was applied by crowding the capstan-bars, but all in vain. The 'messenger' at length gave way, with a desperate bounce, scattering us midshipmen, who were holding on, in different directions, but luckily without much injury to any of us. A new 'messenger' was to be bent, and when at last we succeeded in raising the anchor, one of the flukes was found, to our great surprise, to have been drawn almost into a straight line, such was the force which had been applied to it. The

duty of holding on the 'messenger' belonged especially to the midshipmen, who were also indulged with a ride upon a triangle, for the purpose of greasing the mast, tarring the standing rigging, &c., &c. But, alas! this useful class of boys is now, I fear, nearly extinct, having followed the fate of those superb ships which were heretofore the pride of our Indian commerce.

"On our arrival at Diamond Harbour I found a budgerow waiting for me, with one of my uncle's clerks. I was speedily on board, and being ushered into the cabin, I saw a sedate gentleman, with what appeared to be the head of a long snake in his mouth, while a rattling behind gave ground for conjecture that this must be of the species rattle-snake. It was an innocent Bengal hookah.

"We soon reached Calcutta,* where I was kindly welcomed by my maternal uncle, Mr. Bruere, who was then one of the secretaries to the Government; and having been duly installed in a very commodious apartment, I was conducted up-stairs to pay my devoirs to my aunt. I met an elegant little personage, whom I took at first to be a young lady fresh from school, for she had a pretty little figure, was dressed in a nice white frock, with a profusion of beautiful hair, hanging below her waist. This sylph-like vision was my very good aunt, the mother of three children."

* This was about the middle of the month of August, 1786.

CHAPTER II.

Early Indian Life of Henry St.George Tucker—Residence with Mr. Bruere—Departure for Gyah—Residence with Mr. Law—Mr. Law and the Mocurrery System—Appointment to the Secretary's Office—Loss of his first Earnings—Appointed Assistant to the Commercial Agent at Commercolly—Residence at Hurriaul—Early Writings—Opinions on the Land Assessment—On Excise and Gunge Duties.

It was in the month of August, 1786, that Henry St.George Tucker found himself located in the house of his maternal uncle, Mr. Bruere, at that period one of the secretaries to Government. It does not seem that he had at any time a fixed intention of following the profession into which he had been so hastily and unadvisedly launched. If he had, it soon became apparent to him that there was very little inducement to adhere to such a design. He left his ship at Calcutta, and looked the world in the face.

"I entered the world," he wrote more than half a century afterwards to one of his sons, "without money or friends; and I had to struggle for almost fifteen years against poverty and debt. I lived for a time on about sixty rupees per month, in Rannee-Moodee-Gully, in a small hovel which I had to maintain against a colony of rats. My health occasionally

failed, but a removal to this country or the comforts of marriage never entered into my contemplation. So far from it, I was obliged to assist others, in spite of my pecuniary embarrassments. Well, after all, here I am at the age of sixty-nine, enjoying a fair state of health and measure of strength, with every blessing which I could desire. This, too, after bringing up a large family with a moderate fortune, not one sixpence of which was disreputably acquired. . . . Consider these premises and the result—and take comfort."*

Such, in a few words, is the history of Henry St.-George Tucker—such the great moral to be drawn from it. "Take comfort!" To the biographer, whose duty it is to fill in the details, it is necessarily a source of unspeakable regret that the records of these fifteen struggle-years—these years of difficulty and debt—should be so scanty and unsatisfying. All that is known of Mr. Tucker's early Indian experiences—all that affection has garnered up and that industry can gather from scattered sources—will be given in this and the following chapters. Slender as is the information, it may yet suffice to give full significance to the words, "Consider these premises and the result, and—*take comfort!*"

At the age of fifteen, young Tucker, fifteen thou-

* Written in 1840. Mr. Tucker, in this letter, addressing his son, says also: "You complain of grey hairs. I had them as early as yourself; and what was worse, I was obliged to use spectacles at the age of twenty-two, and had reason to apprehend that my sight would have failed long ago—a failure which must have been decisive of the fate of one who could only hope to make his way in life by the most persevering industry."

sand miles from home, without money, almost without friends, looked the world in the face. He had no recognised position of any kind; he was not a writer; he was not a cadet; he was not a clerk in a merchant's office; he was simply an adventurer. Of India and the East he knew as much as he had gathered from those great authorities, the "Arabian Nights" and the "Tales of the Genii;" and he soon found that a hovel in Rannee-Moodee-Gully is extremely unlike the palace of Haroun-al-Raschid. He did not find an enchanted "Basket" to draw him up to Paradise, any more than Whittington found that the streets of London were actually paved with gold. He had to make the Basket for himself. The only Genii who came to his aid were his own indomitable energy and perseverance.

With the Brueres he tarried for a few months —partly in Calcutta, partly at their country residence at Sook-Saugor—a village higher up the river. He had landed at a bad season of the year, and his hot, young blood was soon at fever-heat. Those "months after the rains," when the hot damps rise from the sodden plains of Bengal as from a wet cloth hung before the fire, sent the young adventurer, as they have sent many another young adventurer, to his bed. He was taken, convalescent, to Sook-Saugor, where the cold weather soon restored him to all the vigor and elasticity of robust youth; and he began to long to be "up and doing."

From Bengal he was soon transplanted to Behar. In December, 1786, we find the young adventurer at Gyah, resident in the house of Mr. Law, who seems

to have received him and cherished him with all the kindness of a father. How they first became acquainted is not known. But their intercourse was held in affectionate remembrance by both to their dying day. Thirty or forty years afterwards Mr. Law wrote from America: "In India I passed my youthful days. Ask Tucker if he remembers the stout white pony that used to run away with him on our shooting parties. M—— writes me how Tucker and he are exerting themselves. I glory in such friendship." He had reason to glory in it. It is hard to say how much the friendship and hospitality, which he extended to the homeless boy at the outset of his career, contributed to make the ripe Indian statesman, who, sixty years after their first meeting in Behar, was writing to the Governor-General from the chair of the India House letters of instruction and advice.

I need not tell any one even slenderly acquainted with the administrative history of India during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, that Mr. Thomas Law was that collector of Behar, of whom, a few years later, it was said that he was the "Father of the Permanent Settlement."* Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General of India. The settlement of the landed revenue of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was at this time the chief object of his care. One experiment after another had been tried. Each had been unsuccessful. Ever since the East

* Every one has heard the comprehensive description of Robert Boyle—that he was "The Father of Chemistry and the brother of Lord Cork." I have heard Thomas Law, with the same ludicrous infelicity, described as the "Father of the Permanent Settlement and the brother of Lord Ellenborough."

India Company had "stood forth as Dewan," the adjustment of the land-tax had been the standing difficulty of our administrators. The land was, somehow or other, to be made to yield a certain amount of revenue for the exigencies of the State; but how that revenue was to be yielded in a manner advantageous alike to the Governed and the Governing, was a question which demanded all the knowledge and the experience of the ablest Indian statesmen to solve. It was pretty well agreed, both at home and abroad, that the settlement should be made with the Zemindars, but whether for a fixed period of years, or in perpetuity, was a point much open to debate. It was certain, at least, that the system of short leases had nothing to recommend it. It had been tried, and it had disastrously failed. The choice lay between the granting of long leases at a fixed rate, and the unalterable assessment of the amount to be paid by the Zemindar. After years of consideration and discussion, the latter alternative was adopted; and what is now known as the "Permanent Settlement" became the law of the land.

Now, among the foremost supporters and the most strenuous advocates of this "Mocurrery," or Permanent System, was Mr. Thomas Law, collector of Behar. He was a revenue-officer of ripe experience, and a man of a humane and kindly disposition. The welfare of the natives by whom he was surrounded had a cherished place in his heart, and whether he judged rightly or wrongly in contending for the perpetuation of the settlement, it is not to be doubted that he was rooted in the conviction that it

would contribute to the happiness of the people. What he believed so firmly himself he impressed forcibly upon his young disciple; and he had good reason to be proud of his pupil. Whilst still in the prime of life, Thomas Law carried the fortune which he had acquired in India to the Western World; and nearly half a century afterwards it often gladdened his aged heart in the far-off American city, in which his Indian earnings were invested, to think that among the ablest, the most earnest, and the most influential supporters of the Permanent Settlement, was the homeless boy who had eaten the curry, ridden the pony, dwelt in the bungalow, and listened to the precepts of the some-time collector of Behar.

It was here, under Mr. Law's roof, that young Tucker first began seriously to study the peculiarities of native character and native institutions, and to ponder over the intricacies of our system of government, and its effect upon the welfare of the people. "The first year of my residence in India," he wrote in 1847,* "I passed in Behar (chiefly at Gyah), and there I received impressions very favorable to the old Mahomedan families, whose fate excited my commiseration. I met at different times Gholaum Hussein Khan, the author of the 'Seer Mutakhereen,' and he appeared to me the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen. I have never lost the impressions which I received of the harsh treatment which many of the old families had experienced at our hands; and I have since fought the battle of many of the chieftains whose territories we

* To Sir George Clerk.

have confiscated." These early impressions, indeed, were never effaced.* As strong were they at eighty as at eighteen. One of the last papers he ever wrote —it was written by an octogenarian hand that had lost none of its pristine vigor—was in defence of the rights of the titular head of the great family of Mahomedan chiefs.

To the study of the native languages he addressed himself assiduously from the first.† It is related of him that about this time he translated, whenever he had leisure for the task, "Fergusson on Perspective," into Persian, to a native painter, who, like the majority of his brethren, had little knowledge of the principles of his art. Although we are told that sometimes, lacking words to render his ideas, he illustrated them with his pencil, it is not improbable that we ought to refer this incident to a later period. Even a friendly biographer may question the ability of a boy of seventeen, who had been only a year in the country, to translate a scientific work into one of the Oriental languages.

* Some of the old Hindoo Zemindars, also, with whom he made acquaintance at this time, long held, and were long held by, him in kindly remembrance. Even as long afterwards as the year 1835, Rajah Mitterjeet Sing, "the oldest of the Company's Zemindars under the Mocurrery Settlement," wrote to thank Mr. Tucker (then an East India Director) for continuing to remember him. "Our acquaintance," wrote Mr. Tucker, in reply, "commenced when I was a boy at Gyah; but although our personal intercourse has ceased for a great number of years, I have always taken an interest in the welfare of my friend and in the prosperity of his country."

† He often discoursed, in after-days, upon the eccentricities of the Moonshee with whom he studied at Gyah—a man who believed himself to be a sort of Admirable Crichton in a turband and cummerbund, and who was just as ready to prove his poetical powers by reciting a drama of his own composition, as his agility by jumping out of window.

What, however, is related in scattered memoranda about young Tucker's sporting exploits at this time, may all be received without stint or qualification. He often spoke, in after-life, about his hog-hunting experiences in Behar.* Accustomed from early childhood to equestrian exercise—with a good seat in the saddle, with strong nerves and an active frame, he was just the sort of youth to delight in manly sports of this kind; and he was often, therefore, the companion of Mr. Law in his excursions into the jungle. There is more in these excursions than the routine-men of London and Liverpool can rightly appreciate. When they hear of our Indian officials living much in the saddle, and spending many hours of the day, at certain seasons, gun in hand, it seems to them that pleasure is followed rather than business, and that the administration is at a stand-still whilst judges and collectors are tiger-hunting and pig-sticking in the jungles, or following smaller game on the plains. But there is nothing more certain in the philosophy of Anglo-Indian government than that the gun and the hog-spear are excellent administrators, and that without such serviceable allies our civil functionaries would be much less equal to their work. It is hard to say how much is learnt—often, indeed, how much is done—during these sporting excursions, which outwardly

* Hog-hunting was his favorite diversion. "I like hog-hunting better (than tiger-shooting)," he wrote, in an unfinished work descriptive of the country and the people, embraced in a series of imaginary epistles. "This is a very manly sport, which requires much more personal exertion, and excites more emulation."

represent nothing more than the leisure and the amusement of our Indian administrators. In England, business and pleasure are antagonistic; in India, they often go hand-in-hand.

We may be sure that neither Law nor Tucker, when he took the gun into his hand, was altogether wasting his time. Something, however, even worse than this, had like to have come out of one of these sporting adventures. One day, by some wretched mischance, young Tucker had the misfortune to shoot Mr. Law. The accident proved not to be a serious one; but the former never forgot the uncontrollable agony of mind in which, thinking that he might have killed his benefactor, he flung himself upon the ground and gave way to his transports of grief.*

In the cold weather of 1787-88 Henry Tucker returned to Calcutta. It would appear, that at this time he held a small uncovenanted appointment in the Secretariat Department, the salary of which was 200 rupees a month, or about 250*l.* a year. It is probable that this appointment had been procured for him through the instrumentality of Mr. Law, and that a certain time had been allowed him

* Mr. Tucker used to relate another story, in illustration of his sporting experiences in Behar, of a much less serious kind. He was out one day with Mr. Law and some other gentlemen, when a native suddenly rushed forward, and in a passion of mingled rage and grief, exclaimed, "You have killed my mother." Thinking that a misdirected shot had brought down some venerable matron, the English gentlemen began to experience the liveliest emotions of concern, which, however, were soon dissipated on discovering that the parent whom the poor fellow so emphatically bewailed was no other than—his cow.

wherein to join his office and commence his duties.* In the mean while his salary was drawn, or received for him, by an agent in Calcutta, and as he was living, at no charge to himself, under the hospitable roof of his friend, he allowed it to accumulate in his attorney's hands, only applying it to the purpose of defraying such small expenses as it was necessary to incur for clothes and other articles of equipment. He expected, therefore, to find on his arrival at the Presidency a little fund at his disposal, and, at all events, a score clear of liabilities. But to his dismay he discovered, on arriving at Calcutta, that the house of business in which his pay had been lodged, had failed a short time before, swallowing up his little all, and leaving his debts unpaid.

This was a heavy blow to the young adventurer, but it did not dishearten him. Indeed, there was nothing very appalling in the prospect before him. He had an appointment, with a salary attached to it, equal at least to that drawn by the majority of his cotemporaries in India, and far higher than the emoluments enjoyed by striplings of eighteen at home. But the curse of Debt sate more heavily upon him than upon the greater number of youths, in the one country or the other. In India it sits far too lightly upon young men for their future happiness and respectability. Fortunately, young Tucker —and it is hard to say how much of his success he

* The precise date at which Mr. Tucker received this his first appointment in the public service, the biographer has not been able to ascertain.

owed to it—had a habit of looking every difficulty in the face. With such a habit as this no man is ever ruined. There is safety in it past counting. No sooner did this young adventurer find himself in debt than he resolutely set himself to the great work of getting out again. And he succeeded before two years had worn to a close. He paid all off by monthly instalments.* Before the year 1789 dawned upon him, he found himself clear of debt—still a clerk in the Secretary's office, with 200 rupees a month.

In this appointment he continued throughout the year 1788. It would seem that even at this early period the abilities of the youthful clerk were not lost upon his official superiors. Mr. Hay was at this time at the head of the department. It is related that such was his confidence in young Tucker, who was then only in his eighteenth year, that when the claims of Mr. Keir to a grant of the exclusive privilege of working the iron mines in the district of Ramghur came before Government, he entrusted the duty of drawing up a report on the subject to the young uncovenanted assistant. This was the first official paper which he ever wrote. Based upon information which he collected from the records of his office, it took a comprehensive survey of the whole question, and conveyed the views of Government

* During six or eight months of this time he managed to secure the privilege of free quarters in Writings Buildings. It was at this time that he made the acquaintance of Mr. James Stuart, then a writer in the Buildings, with whom his intimacy lasted for life.

with so much clearness and precision, that it was immediately approved and adopted.*

At the close of the year 1788 he again quitted Calcutta. He had been appointed assistant to the Commercial Resident at Commercolly and Hurriaul. This appointment he held for the space of a year, retaining the same salary as in the Secretary's office; but he had reason to deplore his departure from Calcutta. He soon won the esteem and confidence of Mr. Taylor, the Resident, who placed him in charge of the Hurriaul Factory, and who offered him an appointment, with a doubled salary, if he would consent to remain there. But the occupation was not congenial to him. The Resident was a well-meaning, kind-hearted man, but thoughtless and inconsiderate. Unpunctual in his habits and irregular in his office hours, he often kept his young assistant, fasting and weary, at his desk, in a close, hot room, two or three hours after sunset, until, utterly exhausted with want of food and rest, his head sunk on the table before him. The temptation of an increased salary was not sufficient to induce him to lengthen out such servitude as this; so at the end of the year 1789 he withdrew from his situation at Hurriaul, and returned to Calcutta.

The year at Hurriaul may not have been pleasantly, but that it was profitably spent is not to be doubted. There are the best possible proofs extant

* Sixty years afterwards Mr. Tucker referred to this boyish report, in a paper on the Porto Nuovo Ironworks.

that young Henry Tucker grew rapidly in knowledge and experience, and that, at an unusually early age, he was competent to give an opinion on those vexed questions of Indian administration—especially those relating to the collection of the revenue—which have puzzled men of ripe judgment and well-exercised ability. It was no small thing, indeed, that a youth, still only in his eighteenth year, should be encouraged to write letters on fiscal matters to one of the most experienced revenue-officers in the country—no small thing that he should write such letters as now, after a lapse of sixty years, are to be read by grown men, with pleasure and profit, not as curiosities with the infant-phenomenon stamp upon them, but as papers of intrinsic value, admirably written, and full of instruction. In the course of this year 1789 he wrote some long letters to Mr. Law, a few of which have fortunately been preserved. The style differs but little from that of his more mature productions.. Indeed, it must occur forcibly to all who, like myself, have studied Mr. Tucker's writings, from the earliest to the latest, extending as they do over a period of more than sixty years, that his style, formed in very early youth, underwent, during all the mutations of life, no material change, and that there was neither crudeness in boyhood, nor feebleness in extreme old age. Alike at eighteen and at eighty, it had all its meridian clearness and force.

Often in the Bungalow—often in the Jungle—during that ever-gratefully remembered year in Behar, had Thomas Law and Henry St.George

Tucker discoursed, gravely and earnestly, about the administration of the land-revenue, the rights of the Zemindars, and the protection of the actual cultivators of the soil; and often since had the latter, at his desk in the Hurriaul Factory, revolved these weighty matters in his mind, and reduced to something like order and method his scattered but not superficial ideas. And now, towards the close of the year, when leisure would permit, he gave bodily expression to these ideas—with what success it is my object to show.*

"My dear Mr. Law," he wrote to his friend in one of these letters, "permit me to submit to your

* It would seem that Mr. Tucker's first impressions of the state of the country and the character of the Anglo-Indian residents at the Presidency were extremely favorable. He endeavored to obtain information from every possible source, but he soon found—and the complaint which he made more than half a century ago has been very generally echoed during the last inquiries which have been made into the condition of the country—that it seldom happened that two informants gave precisely the same account. If it were only for the illustration that it affords of the difficulty of obtaining correct information relating to the condition of India, the following passage, from one of Mr. Tucker's earliest productions, is worth quoting:—"I am well satisfied with the people (I mean the British inhabitants)," he wrote, "for they are hospitable and social, and many of them well-informed and communicative. There is, I think, a liberality of sentiment which particularly characterises them, and which is probably the effect of local circumstances. Placed in elevated situations, and enjoying the smiles of fortune, there is nothing to nourish a grovelling spirit. I have had occasion, however, to make an observation here, which I have often made elsewhere—viz., that it is scarcely ever possible to find any two individuals agree upon any one proposition, or even upon any particular fact. I have made much inquiry respecting the country, the people, their customs, laws, &c.; but I have found a strange discordance in the accounts which have been given me. Some men appear scarcely to observe what passes before their very eyes, or at least they pay so little attention to passing objects that they leave no impression behind. I think, however, that I can perceive the truth through a great mass of contradiction; for both ignorance and prejudice usually betray themselves."

tribunal the following observations on the revenues of the country, &c., and subjects connected with them. I need not, I am convinced, implore your indulgent judgment on this occasion, nor need I call to your recollection the inexperience of the writer—his situation, which almost entirely prevents him from dedicating any part of his time to study—and his views, which were to improve and form his own mind, and to contribute as much as was in his power to your pleasures. No; I am well convinced that every circumstance which may tend to excuse my errors, or which may in any respect operate in my favor, will spontaneously suggest itself to you." And having thus modestly deprecated the criticism of his friend, he proceeded to set forth the subjects to the consideration of which his letter was to be addressed. "I will first," he said, "endeavor to consider the principle on which Zemindars and other proprietors of land in this country hold their respective tenures. On a knowledge of the nature of this principle depends the propriety of the system or regulations affecting them. I will next proceed to inquire into the state of the lands, and the causes which have operated in reducing their value from its former standard; and from the two will, with deference, endeavor to draw a result establishing the principle of right and expediency on which my suggestions shall be founded."

He then proceeded to show, that as on the subjection of a country to a foreign power all property in the lands devolve on the conquerors, "the rights of

all Zemindars and other landholders ceased on the subjection of this country to the British arms."

"On our conquest of this country," continued the youthful writer, "our situation did not admit of our aspiring to the sovereign authority consistently with policy and prudence. It was an object of much greater importance to us to obtain the territorial jurisdiction, divested of the other superfluous powers exercised by the Nabobs—superfluous from their being unprofitable, and difficult in the exercise. To this end we sought and obtained the Dewanny from the nominal supreme authority, leaving to the dispossessed Nabobs the Nizamut functions. The Dewanny confirmed us legally in what we had acquired by our arms, and gave to our possession a principle of right. It conferred, however, only those powers as exercised by the former Dewan, and the act of receiving the Dewanny imposed on us an obligation never to exceed those powers. To ascertain, therefore, the present rights of the subject and of Government, it is necessary to recur to the former system.

"I cannot, indeed, but be of opinion that the very nature of the functions exercised by the Soubahs of Hindostan precludes every idea of the Zemindars possessing a property in the lands. Without adverting to the forms of Pottas—to circumstances of Zemindars having been displaced at the pleasure of the sovereign, which I have heard alleged in proof of their being agents only, but with which I am not myself sufficiently acquainted, let me ask whether there is any specific system by which our demands from the Zemindars are regulated? whether it is not generally understood by both parties that, after deducting from the estimated produce of the lands the expense of cultivation, and the necessary profits of the Ryot, and subsequently the expenses of collection, and Nankarry or fund for the subsistence of the Zemindar and his family, the surplus is not the right of Government legally claimable?

"If this be allowed, in what respect does the Zemindar possess a property in the lands? in what respect is he considered more than an agent of Government? Does he ever appeal

against unjust demands? Does he ever set up any plea against arbitrary and unequal increases, but that of total inability? and yet I believe *we* have assumed no rights or powers but what were exercised by the former Dewan, and which were legally consigned to us with the Dewanny. It may be asked on what principle we continue to allow dispossessed Zemindars a percentage on the collections, or the value of their lands when Government has thought proper to dispose of them. I have never heard of such customs having existed under the former Government, and if it did not exist, it has not now taken place from any principle of right, but of policy and humanity. I would not, however, for a moment contend that such a Government should exist. I think the consequences attending it must unavoidably defeat the object proposed. To illustrate this, we need only recur to the present revenue system of this country, where the object is to collect all that can be collected, but where the means not only prevent its being attended with success in collecting much, but cause most prejudicial effects, as I will endeavor to prove."

He then proceeded to describe the system under which the Revenue was at that time collected by the executive officers of the British Government, and the evils resulting from the insufficiency of our European control:

"The ascertainment and administration of this right of Government is entrusted to the British Revenue Collector—a duty inconceivably difficult—a duty hardly ever to be executed with justice to the parties. Although the collector should be a man of abilities, integrity, and activity (qualities which do not, as you have observed, unite in the generality of men), yet innumerable obstacles oppose his ascertaining with moderate accuracy what Government with policy and propriety should demand, and what the landholder could give. He is entrusted with an extensive district, every part of which he cannot personally superintend. He has many duties imposed on him

totally distinct from this trust, being from time to time a judge, a magistrate, an accountant, and a public correspondent on subjects of every description. He is, therefore, not only necessitated to procure all information on this complicated subject through the medium of native agents, but is frequently obliged to delegate to them a considerable part of his authority. The generality of these (particularly in Bengal) are men venal, arbitrary, prejudiced, vain of the display of power and patronage, and in short, totally ignorant or regardless of every fundamental principle of honor, rectitude, and justice. The rights of Government, with such agents, are a very late consideration. Government must indeed inevitably suffer by them, because the advantages resulting from a faithful discharge of their duties to Government are precarious, distant, and inconsiderable; a collusion with the Zemindars offers immediate wealth and consequence, and is in general to be effected with little danger. Self-interest suggests to both parties studied concealment; and no prying rival could be expected to come forward and challenge unauthorised emoluments which he may hope to enjoy hereafter himself; his discovery of them would only tend to multiply the frauds by multiplying the participators of them. Many of the Zemindars are, I believe, by this means enabled to alienate the rights of Government to a considerable amount; in the certainty of being protected by their official friends, they exercise not only a revenue, but a judicial authority in their own districts. This is most grievous to the people, and consequently highly prejudicial to the country. They sit in judgment in cases where they are themselves parties—punish trivial or imaginary offences with the greatest severity, and draw a large revenue from crimes and forged accusations and collusion with robbers. Under some of them no description of property is secure. I have heard of a man's whole effects being confiscated to satisfy their avarice or wanton resentments. From their influence they are enabled to monopolise the most valuable articles of trade, where the Company are not their comptitors; and I have seen instances of their claiming the birds of the air and the fish of the rivers as *their property untangible.*

"Nor is it possible for the collectors, as many of them are situated, to prevent these abuses. The injured mendicant must travel eighty miles to the Adawlut; and can it be supposed that the Zemindar, who has not scrupled to ruin him, will hesitate to prevent him in this appeal—that he will not or cannot seize and imprison him in the attempt? Such are the oppressions, such the powers assumed by many of the Zemindars; nor is it, I think, surprising. The causes, I conceive, may be easily explained. The Zemindar has not only the demands of Government to satisfy, but the demands of insatiate Dewans and Mutzuddies, and securities, with whom, though a collusion secures him a more favorable settlement with Government, yet in the end proves a most excessive burden to him. He is less disinclined to rack-rent his country, because he is never secure of holding it for any time, and consequently considers that to gain a little by whatever means, at the present moment, is prudence; to look forward for the effects of moderation and encouragement, wild speculation."

Having thus forcibly described the evils of the existing system, he went on to suggest a remedy. The remedy was that for the application of which Mr. Law had long been contending—a definite assessment of the land to be fixed by Government in perpetuity. "These evils," now wrote his young correspondent, "are the necessary effects of the system; they are, I think, only to be obviated by an entire change of it, by annihilating the principles of the former and present Government (which I certainly think are that the Zemindar is not proprietor of the soil), by making the dues of Government fixed and determinate; and thus preventing the intrigues and embezzlements of intermediate officers; by making it the Zemindar's interest to nurse his country and protect his people, and, in short, by adopting your

Mocurrery plan, to which (were I of sufficient consequence to use such language, I would say) I give my warmest approbation."

Thus broadly stating his opinions in favor of the Permanent System—opinions from which he never wavered to the day of his death—he proceeded to discourse on the rate of assessment and the probability of the land being capable, under more favorable circumstances, of yielding a larger amount of revenue to the State than under the system then existing—a system, as it was, of temporary leases and fluctuating assessments. He believed that, though certain tracts of land might be so improved as to bear a higher rate of assessment, the land *generally* could not be so productive—or, rather, that landed investments could not be so generally remunerative—under our rule as under the government of the Moguls. The arguments which he adduced are ingenious; and they exhibit an extensive acquaintance with the commercial status of Bengal, very remarkable in one who had resided so short a period in the country. They afford, as I have said, a pregnant proof of the good uses to which young Henry Tucker had turned his connexion with the Commercial Agency of Hurriaul, although they are not, in all cases, borne out by the results of the last half century:

"It has been alleged," he wrote, "as an argument against it (the Permanent System), that Government will be deprived of a very considerable part of their right, since they will be cut off from all participation in the improvement of the lands, which,

from the effects of bad management, are at present valued much below their former standard, and from which a much larger revenue might in time be expected. I certainly think that the lands are at present in some places much under-rented; and this ought to be fully ascertained previous to fixing the settlement. I do not, however, agree that they would ever improve *generally*, under the present system; and I am decidedly of opinion that, except in particular small spots, they never can, for physical reasons, pay, while under the British Government, the revenue they afforded under the Moguls; for although by chemical analysis of the soil, it would, I do not doubt, be found resolvable into the same distinct principles, having the same inclination to feed vegetation as thirty years ago, yet that its value has undergone a necessary change I am convinced in my own mind, and will endeavor to prove.

" I will pass over two causes which might be assigned—viz., the depopulation, occasioned by the famines of 1770 and 1788, and the mismanagement which has taken place in some of the districts, as the effects of these are not permanent, and may be removed by time, care, and better agency. There are causes which are, I think, irremoveable; and these I will proceed to particularise:

" 1st. There is not so great a consumption of the valuable articles of produce, as under the Mussulman Government.

" 2nd. The revenue collected from the lands is not again circulated and retained in the country.

" 3rd. European individuals remit their private fortunes to England and other parts; and drain this country of its specie.

" 4th. The Company monopolise; and there is no perfect equality of trade subsisting in any of its branches.

" In the Mogul Government the revenues collected by the Prince were returned to the country with very little diminution; they were dispersed in various courses through every department of the people, and kept in constant circulation. The subject enjoyed affluence and ease, and was enabled to indulge himself in all the luxuries the country produced. There was an unceasing demand for paun, opium, salt, oil, sugar, tobacco, and

other articles of luxury, all of which are most valuable to the cultivator. These were produced in great abundance, and must have afforded an immense revenue; for I have heard, both from the Ryots and others, that a beega of paun yields in the year an income of at least thirty rupees. The cultivation of these articles is now very confined—the people are poor—their demand for them consequently small—and some of them are introduced at the markets through the medium of monopolies; the value of the lands, therefore, must of course be diminished, because the value and quantity of their produce is diminished.

"No free and extensive cultivation of any article can take place where there does not exist a free sale for it. All monopolies, therefore, must be highly prejudicial. They check industry, enterprise, and effectually prevent every improvement. The cultivator, who knows that he has no choice of purchasers, that his property is subject to arbitrary and unjust valuation from the impossibility of his disposing of it, should he not accept the terms of the only purchaser, will not labor but from absolute necessity. No spirit of avarice, no desire to aggrandise himself or his family, will excite those exertions so necessary to the welfare of the State. He will live in apprehension, insecurity, and, most likely, poverty. The wealth of the State depends on the wealth of individuals, and the quantum of labor it can call forth."

Upon the subject of the evil of Monopolies the young writer discourses with an enthusiasm which was somewhat cooled down in after-years. Doubtless, some of the circumstances to which he refers in the following passage have long ceased to exist—but I do not clearly see that these altered circumstances go far to promote the argument in favor of Monopolies. Upon the merits of such a question as this it would be out of place to discourse in the present work; but it would not be just to introduce the fol-

lowing passages from this remarkable letter, without a word of comment upon the increased confidence with which in these days the natives of India regard the financial transactions of the British Government. "The natives of this country," wrote Mr. Tucker, in 1789, "are still diffident of us; and although they have no public Banks of their own, nor any secure means of placing their money to interest, they are still cautious of trusting it with us." But in recent days, whenever the British Government have opened a Loan, a very large amount has been contributed to it by the natives of the country. The confidence, indeed, of the natives of India in the financial integrity of the British Government is in these days without a limit:

"There are other effects equally pernicious to be expected from the practice of monopolies, effects which, in my opinion, have lately been experienced in this country. I mean with respect to the enormous batta which has for some time past existed on gold-mohurs, and the late scarcity of grain, which I have reason to think was in a great degree artificially increased.

"The natives of this country, it is well known, are still diffident of us; and although they have no public Banks of their own, nor any secure means of placing their money to interest, they are still cautious of trusting it with us. For this reason, trade appears the only mode by which monied men can live, without breaking in upon the principal of their fortunes; but the trade in opium, saltpetre, in the manufacture and whole-sale of salt, and in cloths (to a great degree), is monopolised by the Company. They consequently have very little choice, and they are obliged to employ their money in the purchase of grain and the other necessaries of life, and in changing the different coins. It might be expected from their number that

all the good effects of competition, in lowering the price of the articles in the market, would necessarily be felt; but this is not the case. They are too prudent to ruin each other by endeavoring to undersell. They must all have their profits, and from the drawbacks they suffer, these must be immense. The trade, therefore, is burdened by the number—is absolutely weighed down. The necessaries of life come to the market at a most unreasonable price; they control the specie undisbursed; and have lately shown to the world a feat almost incredible—they reduced the standard value of the current gold coin ten per cent., and were very near being the death of all trade and credit. On the other hand, did a perfect freedom and equality of trade subsist—did all traders buy and sell on the same footing, I am convinced in my own mind that no monopoly of silver could ever take place, and that there would be very little probability of a monopoly of grain. The streams of commerce being open and free, every man would employ his money, because he could employ it with a prospect of advantage; every man would be enabled to choose the course best adapted to his abilities, situation, and circumstances; and these being so far consulted, he could afford to trade on a comparatively small profit. The inhabitant of one district would not be obliged to wander to other parts, because the only free trade of his own country was, from circumstances of his situation, inaccessible to him; but fixed with his family, practiced and experienced, he would be enabled to proceed in the course pointed out by nature, with security and advantage.

"Mr. Bebb, in a late letter to the Board, gives it as his decided opinion that European traders are a burden to these provinces, for the following reasons: That their expenses being much greater than the expenses of native merchants of equal or superior property, the charges on the trade are consequently greater, and the goods come dearer to the market than they would through the channel of native merchants;—that if they were altogether removed the articles would probably come cheaper to the market, the manufacturer be better paid, and industry every way encouraged;—that they purchase at exceeding

disproportioned prices ill-fabricated goods, and debase the manufacture;—that their fortunes, as soon as acquired, are removed to England, and of course increase the drain so prejudicial to this country. As I think this opinion ill-founded and unjust, and that it would be most impolitic in Government to adopt it, I shall take the liberty of commenting on it at large, although it is not very nearly connected with the subject in question.

"The three first reasons assigned appear to me contradictory. If native merchants live at less expense than Europeans, and at the same time purchase at the same rates, they can afford to sell at a less profit; but it is a fact, and indeed a fact to be expected, that native merchants purchase cheaper than Europeans, because living among the manufacturers, connected with many of them, and personally known to them all, they are enabled to take every advantage of time and circumstances; they are artful and intriguing, acquire an influence over the ignorant manufacturers, and act upon their fears and prejudices, whenever this may be convenient to accomplish their ends. How, then, does it happen that Europeans bear any part against such formidable competitors? Native merchants could at present afford to give a better price, and to encourage industry equally well, as were all Europeans removed from the Aurungs; why, then, do they not give a better price, and by that means engross the trade entirely to themselves? or why, giving the same price, are they not content to sell at more moderate rates than Europeans, and thus exclude them from all participation in the commerce? The third reason, however, conveys an idea that at present not only industry, but indolence is encouraged; 'ill-fabricated goods are purchased at exceeding disproportioned prices.' With these Europeans the fortunate manufacturer finds a ready and advantageous sale for goods, which, from sickness, inexperience, or circumstances of his situation, he has not been able to fabricate with the usual degree of perfection. Could industry receive a greater encouragement? If it be injudicious, why do not the native merchants take advantage of it, since it is undoubtedly in their power?

" But in removing Europeans, a still further encouragement to the manufacturers is proposed—a still greater price is to be given. Should this take place, is it not natural to suppose that they would be so far dazzled with their prospects, that paying no attention to the quality of the fabric, their sole exertions would be directed to increase the quantity? Indeed, this is the effect complained of from the present disproportioned prices; but an increase would hardly remove it.

" The causes which appear to me to operate in preventing native traders from bearing a successful competition against European merchants, are—their want of credit, and the consequent necessity of their paying exorbitant interest for their money—their want of activity, knowledge of foreign markets, judgment in preferring splendid but distant hopes to small but quick returns, and, in short, their want of those qualifications which determine the judicious and experienced merchant. For the honor of our country, it will not, I trust, be alleged that Europeans are more arbitrary, unjust, oppressive, or more inclined to use force in their purchases than natives; indeed, it is not so, nor could it ever be so while there is a watchful Commercial Resident ready to inspect, and authorised in taking cognisance of their illegal acts.

" That European individuals trading in these provinces, and who may acquire and subsequently remove fortunes to Europe, are a burden to this country, I entirely agree; but that this burden would be diminished, or rather, that it would not be increased by their removal from the provinces, I totally disallow.

" The act of removing them would not give more credit, activity, judgment, or experience, to the natives;—on whom, then, would the trade devolve? Is it probable that they would hold a more successful competition against the Company and the Company's commercial agents than they have hitherto done against European individuals? I think not. The consequence then would be that a most destructive monopoly would take place. Should the Company not wish to increase their provision, their agents, who possess nearly the same advantages with

them, and who might have credit to any amount from the knowledge that they could advantageously employ money to any amount, would engross the greater part of the trade. Would they, too, be inclined to increase the price? would they, from patriotic motives, encourage industry by paying the manufacturer more liberally, or would they settle their immense fortunes in this country, and thus prevent the drain, so prejudicial and so much complained of? There is no law in nature by which we may presume that Commercial Residents are better men than commercial individuals. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion that, until an entire change be made in the present system—until Commercial Agents be restrained from trade—these individuals will be of very great advantage to the country; they prevent monopolies, and by the competition they excite, oblige other purchasers to pay the manufacturer a just and liberal price."

Some at least of the views here expressed were considerably modified in the course of the after-life of the writer. But they are cited here mainly to show at how early an age Henry St.George Tucker had directed all the energies of his mind to the elucidation of those great financial and commercial questions, upon his comprehensive acquaintance with which the reputation of his manhood was mainly founded. I am writing here of the early promise of his youth; and I think it will be acknowledged even by the most grudging reader that the boy of eighteen, who could write such letters as this,* gave good promise, under favorable circum-

* As the precise date of this letter is not given, it is right that some proof should be afforded of the period at which it was written. The biographer cannot be wrong in assigning it to the year 1789; firstly, because the writer says at the close of it: "I have not yet considered your observations on the subject of gunge duties," &c.; and there is a paper dated early in 1790 upon

stances, of growing into one of the foremost Indian statesmen of the age.

In another paper drawn up about this same time and submitted also to Mr. Law, the young writer, who plunged deeply into political economy—probably without knowing it—discoursed, at considerable length, on the advantage of raising the principal revenue of the country from customs-duties upon manufactured articles, rather than resorting, for the supplies of the State, exclusively to an immoderate land-tax. "I do not wish it to be understood," he said, "that I think an entire substitution of duties for a land-tax advisable. No; I conceive a permanent, equalised, and well-regulated land-tax a very proper source of revenue. My arguments were adduced only with the wish to prove that Government should not recur to it alone—that moderation in it would be fully compensated by the birth or increase of other resources, from which they could draw a revenue with equal expediency; and, if my arguments have a just foundation, with greater convenience to the subject."

And the arguments, indeed, had for the most part good foundation—at least, in theory. It is probable, however, that in his more experienced years Mr. Tucker himself might have questioned whether the consuming powers of the great mass of the people,

this subject of gunge duties, which will be presently quoted; and secondly, because he says: "Mr. Taylor wrote to Commercolly, a long time ago, to desire that silkworm eggs should be sent you immediately; but as we are not certain of their having been despatched, he writes again to-day"—a passage which is sufficient proof that the writer was with Mr. Taylor at the time—and he was with him only during the year 1789.

in respect of manufactured articles, had not been over-rated.

And as he contended in favor of the partial substitution of Customs duties for an exclusive and immoderate Land-tax, so in another paper, written in the following year, he advocated a resort to these Customs or Gunge duties, in preference to a system of Excise which Mr. Law had recommended.* He seems to have had a very clear conception of what the plague of Excisemen would be in such a country as Bengal:

"In respect," he wrote, "to the personal convenience of the subject, the Excise is, I think, very objectionable, particularly in this country. It necessarily authorises an unrestrained entrance into men's houses, which in its effects operates as a very arbitrary power. An unprincipled Exciseman insists on being admitted into the house of a man of character, on searching his most private apartments, the recesses of his women, under the

* Primarily, with especial reference to an Excise on Looms—Mr. Law's plan will be found set forth at some length in his Minute of April 15, 1790. This and other papers relating to the revenues of India were printed by him in 1792, after his return to England, in a volume, entitled "A Sketch of some late Arrangements and a View of the rising Resources in Bengal; by Thomas Law, Esq., late a Member of the Council of Revenue in Fort William." I have never seen more than one copy of it, and that I picked up some years ago at an old book-stall. In the Minute to which I have referred, Mr. Law shows that the Gunge, or Inland Customs, duties had become very oppressive—that "the commodities of internal produce are burdened in the Bahar province equal to twenty or thirty lakhs of rupees, and become too dear to be exported; besides, the merchants quit business disappointed and disgusted; and all this for about three lakhs (30,000*l.*) net Gunge collections. As Government cannot afford to relinquish even that, I propose an Excise in preference which may be taken on cloth; for the people all require more or less of it, and I think that one anna upon every piece above one rupee to three rupees, and two annas upon all above this, would not be heavy. With respect to the probable gross collections, I can only guess (they would amount to about four or five lakhs), for at present I am ignorant of the internal expenditure and export." It is to this proposal that Mr. Tucker's remarks mainly refer.

plea that he conceals goods which have not paid the established tax. This admission he can legally insist on; indeed, if you tax the whole manufacture, you must allow your officers to pervade every place indiscriminately, as the weavers very frequently make and keep their cloths in their Zenanas.

"A man of character would, I conceive, submit to any loss sooner than suffer these apartments to be defiled by the intrusion of a rude, profligate stranger. The Exciseman, therefore, could exact his own terms for his forbearance. It may be said, he may complain to a superior officer; but exclusive of the difficulty of redressing the complaints of individuals in this country, he will, I think, have no ground to complain, but of a power delegated by Government, for the non-exercise of which he has been obliged to pay their officer. Supposing the Exciseman be convicted and punished, the injured man will thereby have deprived himself of the only means of subsequently saving his family from insult and disgrace.

"Consider what an immense number of scoundrels Government must let loose with almost unlimited powers into the Mofussil. You must have officers to superintend the clothing of every individual in the empire; their number will be so great that Government cannot afford to employ respectable men; they must have people of the lowest class, with the lowest salaries, who will have little to lose, but may gain a great deal by illegal exaction. The power with which they must of necessity be invested will be a most extensive one, and they most unfit for the exercise of any power. Besides, every vagabond, who cannot better employ his time, and who has no other fortune but *resolution*, will assume the character of an Excise-officer, and patrol the country, exacting from the ignorant and helpless weavers *ad libitum*. He will not, indeed, have the stamps of Government to dispose of; but this rather makes it worse, as his exactions will in consequence be confined in a great degree to those who may have previously paid. Has not this been the case in the collection of all River duties? Every petty fellow who could afford to keep a boat became a collector of River Customs in the remote parts of the country; and I do

not think the idea chimerical, when I say that I think there would be a great number of forged Excise-officers, besides too many authorised by Government; and this must be the case with all duties that are not locally stationary."

The youthful writer then discourses on the relative advantages and disadvantages of Customs and Excise in some clever antithetical passages, which afford further illustration both of the early bent of his mind to financial inquiry, and his premature acquaintance with the art of composition:

"You very justly say that there is an inconvenience attending Gunge collections, in stopping and opening packages repeatedly. This certainly has hitherto occasioned great delays and consequent loss under the arbitrary system established by the Zemindars; but we have reason to expect improvement in this respect; and, at all events, oppression on the merchant does not operate so prejudicially as oppression on the weaver; and the merchant is likely to be able in a great degree to oppose it successfully—the weaver never can.

"All collections in Gunges will be public; and oppressions will be notorious, and sooner or later reach the ears of the Power whose duty it is to suppress them. Excise must be collected privately from each individual. A weaver who has to pay one anna will not complain at two being exacted; redress would not compensate for the trouble and expense attending it. A merchant may find his account in complaining of a considerable exaction: restitution to him may be of consequence.

"For this reason I conceive that taxes which fall in gross are much less liable to admit of extortion than those which fall upon articles singly.

"I confess that I think with you that Government are more likely to be defrauded in their Gunge duties than in their Excise; but for the foregoing reasons I think the subject

less likely; and you yourself allow that it is better Government should be defrauded a little, than the subject. . . . .

" Mr. Blackstone, I think, could not have had any idea of this country, when he said that Excise was a less expensive tax than Customs. Excise takes from each individual weaver—Customs from the merchant; the one taxes every piece of cloth separately—the other, bales and cargoes; the one moves about through every part of the country—the other is stationary. There must consequently be an infinity of officers to collect the Excise; the accounts of it will be more diffuse and complicated; and the expenses of Government of course greater.

" I certainly think that duties should be levied on the manufactured article, and not on the raw material, as I have said in the short paper I gave you on the subject; but this is no argument against Customs; why may not they be levied exclusively on the manufactured article, as well as the Excise?

" After so much on the particular effects of the two taxes, I will for a moment recur to their respective principles. The Excise is a tax upon the whole manufacture—Customs upon that part alone which comes into circulation. The Excise, therefore, holds forth the prospect of a greater produce than Customs; but I do not think that in reality it has any superiority in this respect. Why should you tax the grain which the Ryot retains for his own subsistence; or the piece of cloth which the manufacturer makes for his own use; or, indeed, the grain and cloth which these two mutually exchange? There can be no great advantage in taxing them; there may be an advantage in omitting it—for we are then sure that our taxes do not prevent these useful subjects from being well clothed and fed. They must be well clothed and fed if you wish population to increase, and your country to flourish. Their surplus labor they would carry to market; and from this levy as much as you can without suppressing commerce: but, in fact, you cannot suppress commerce unless you are very exorbitant indeed in your demands, if you only tax the surplus labor of the manufacturer and Ryot after they are clothed and fed, because they have very few other wants, and could afford

to give their cloths and grain for a very trifle above the taxes of Government. Those articles, therefore, could not be dear: cheapness is the very life of commerce."

"From all these crude, undigested arguments," he wrote in conclusion, "I wish to prove that Gunge duties are likely to be nearly as productive on the same article as an Excise; more convenient to the subject, less expensive in collection; less likely to admit of undue exaction, or to be evaded, because, at the time of paying them, the subject receives an equivalent advantage. The Excise destroys one of the dearest rights we possess—that of being sole and undisturbed lords of our own house and domain as long as we conform to the laws of our country." And then he added, still addressing Mr. Law, this postscript, modestly apologising for the confidence with which he had expressed his opinions in opposition to those of his older and more experienced friend:—"Both Gunge and Excise duties are good taxes, and when compared with a high land-tax, greatly to be preferred. They both, however, have advantages and disadvantages, as all taxes must have. You have very clearly and excellently pointed out the advantages of the one; but have not, I think, included all its disadvantages. I have endeavored feebly to show some superiorities in the other, to which my mind, I must confess, inclined; but some of them are very trifling, and I have very probably overlooked many of its defects. My mind, however, is open to conviction, and is ten thousand times more inclined to doubt its own sug-

gestions than the accuracy of any one of your opinions. If I have used any strong expressions, they must not be attributed to obstinacy or positiveness in my own opinion, but merely to my manner of writing."

This was written in 1790. Towards the close of the preceding year he had returned to Calcutta. He had hoped to find employment again in the Secretary's office; but the appointment which he had held now belonged to another, and there was no vacancy in the office. Hoping that one might soon occur, he for some time remained as an unsalaried attaché*—no uncommon thing in India, where such waiters upon Fortune are known as *Omedwars*, and few wait wholly in vain. It was a sorry time, however, for the young adventurer. Sorrier still would it have been, but for the kind offices of Mr. Law—now become a member of the Revenue Board at Calcutta—who made such advances to his young friend as at least enabled him to live during this time of painful expectancy. It was then, I believe, that Tucker occupied the cellar in Rannee-Moodee-Gully, where the rats contended with him for the possession of the wretched tenement, and ate the powder and pomatum in his hair, when their enemy was asleep. The sixty or seventy monthly rupees advanced by the *quondam* Collector of Behar —and the young Omedwar was not one to accept

* Not, however, before he had endeavored to establish himself in an independent business at Dacca, to which place he proceeded in the early part of 1790; but the contemplated arrangement was fortunately not brought to an issue. The speculation was an unsuccessful one.

even as a loan more than bare subsistence-money —kept the wolf from his door, but could not keep off these nauseous vermin.

He had other friends, too, after their kind, and never lacked a place at the dinner-tables of those who fared sumptuously every day. But it was the steady support of Thomas Law that enabled him to surmount all difficulties. The youth who whilst yet in his teens could write such papers as those from which I have quoted, was not one whom any official in the country could have hesitated to recommend for Government employment. A place was soon found for him. In the course of this year, 1790, he was appointed assistant to the Accountant of the Board of Trade. And soon afterwards another office, to which it is an especial pleasure to allude, was conferred upon him. He had won the good opinion of Sir William Jones, who now extended to him a hand of active assistance, and attached him to his person as clerk. From these two appointments he derived an ample income—and something better still than the six hundred rupees a month, which was wealth indeed to the boy of nineteen; for there could hardly have been better training for him than this. In the Accountant's office he laid broad and deep the foundation of his fame as a Financier; whilst sitting at the feet of Sir William Jones his natural taste for elegant literature found due cultivation, and there was little chance of his ever subsiding into a mere man of accounts and details. His love

of literature abided with him to the closing years of his life.*

The year 1791 dawned prosperously on Henry Tucker. He was in the enjoyment of good health; he was in possession of a comfortable income; he had paid all his debts; and, what was more solacing to him in his exile than all beside, he was enabled to render some essential service to his family in the West. Through his instrumentality a commission in the Royal Army was obtained for his brother George. It is related that he solicited Lord Cornwallis to use his good offices in behalf of the boy, and that the benevolent nobleman, upon whom Henry Tucker had made a favorable impression, cheerfully granted the request.† The sailor-boy had already become the architect of others' fortunes.

* It is to be lamented that there are no records to be found of Mr. Tucker's connexion with Sir William Jones, beyond brief allusions to the fact scattered throughout the writings of the former. "I had also the good fortune," wrote Mr. Tucker on one occasion, "to be patronised by the late Sir William Jones, whose genius seemed to soar above this lower world, and whose love of constitutional liberty, and whose devotion to literature, impressed me with a feeling which I have carried through life." In another paper he speaks of "Sir William Jones, late the ornament of his country;" adding, "In no individual, perhaps, have we ever seen united such diversity of useful and agreeable talents. His premature death is ever to be lamented. 'I knew him well, Horatio.'" See, also, "Memorials of Indian Government," page 61, and note, in which Mr. Tucker says: "I had the honor of being 'clerk' to Sir William Jones—an honor to which, at this date, I look back with pride." The acquaintance between them commenced as far back as 1788, in which year the young uncovenanted clerk was elected a member of the Asiatic Society, under the auspices of the great Orientalist.

† Mr. Tucker, throughout all the succeeding years of his life, spoke of Lord Cornwallis in language of the warmest veneration. In a memorandum extant in his handwriting, he says: "I had the good fortune in the early days of my boyhood to enjoy a pure atmosphere. I first served under the great and good

But the ladder of official promotion—especially to one in the "Uncovenanted Service"—is of very slow ascent; and eager as he was to benefit his family at home, Henry Tucker was readily persuaded to try a shorter, though more perilous road to fortune. Towards the close of 1791 he joined a house of business, of which Mr. John Palmer—afterwards the Prince of Indian Merchants—was the chief member. The house failed before the young adventurer had been many months connected with it, and what was to him a heavy amount of responsibility was thrown upon him as a partner.* This was a mighty blow, and one the weight of which he felt for many a year. But with that brave habit of never shrinking—of never turning aside from the contemplation of an obtrusive difficulty, he looked the evil steadfastly in the face, and he determined, if God willed, to live it down. It took him ten years to wrestle with the calamity; but the work which he set himself he fairly accomplished. He paid his share of the debt—principal and interest. But the anxiety which it inflicted, and the privations it entailed upon him, well-nigh cost him his life.

But the tide was again about to turn—nay, it had

Lord Cornwallis, who was the perfect personification of disinterestedness and patriotism. He steadily enforced the principles of justice; he saw no object but the honor and the interests of his country." And this, indeed, is no more than the language of unexaggerated truth.

* It is probable that I am not strictly correct in speaking of a "house of business;" and that it ought rather to have been said that, associated with Mr. John Palmer, he entered into certain mercantile speculations, which were not successful. In the year 1791, Mr. Tucker was in his minority, and could hardly, therefore, have been a partner in a house of business. He was not legally responsible for its debts.

already turned, although he knew it not—in favor of the young adventurer. Early in the following year he had gone down—partly for the restoration of his health, partly for the transaction of some business—to the Coromandel Coast, when glad tidings reached him from England. He had been appointed a member of the Company's Covenanted Civil Service. There would have been nothing now to mar the completeness of his happiness—if it had not been for the Incubus of Debt.

It is believed that this appointment was procured for him mainly through the influence of his excellent friend Thomas Law. In the course of the year 1791, this worthy man and valuable public servant was driven to England by ill-health. He soon abandoned the idea of returning to the East, and pitched his tent in the Western World. He had been the friend of Cornwallis in the one, and in the other he allied himself with the old antagonist of his former master.* He married a niece of Washington, and in the city which bears the name of that great man he passed the remainder of his life. Once or twice, in his old age, he visited England, and renewed his ever-cherished intimacy with the friend of his early days. Then it was his turn to use the language of gratitude. "I shall often think," he wrote, "with the essence of pleasure in my eyes of your and Mrs. Tucker's kindness."

And up to the last, he thought affectionately of

* Antagonistic by circumstance—but in character how alike!

his old work, and was zealous for the extension of the Mocurrery system, which he had advocated so warmly in those never-forgotten olden times in Behar. "On my arrival in England," he wrote to Mr. Tucker, "G——, M——, and others told me of the breach of faith to the natives in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. My feelings dictated and my hand obeyed, and I rejoice that at sixty-eight my instinctive impulses were strong enough to make me read, and copy, and think. Your exertions have given the crown to my trifle, and you will, I hope, live to see success, and to have *your* labors duly appreciated. I rejoice that Gyah produced Barlow, you, and me. Henceforth I shall relinquish politics and finance—'hic cœstus artem que repono.'" Not long after this he was translated to the land where all Settlements are Permanent. He died on the 30th of July, 1834, and lies buried in the city which owes so much to his enterprise and zeal.

CHAPTER III.

Appointment of H. St.G. Tucker to the Covenanted Civil Service—Employed in the Accountant-General's Department—State of the Civil Service—The Administration of Sir John Shore—Mr. Tucker appointed Register in Rajshye—His intimacy with Henry Colebrooke—Appointed to the Secretariat—Rise in the Department—Arrival of Lord Wellesley—Mr. Tucker's Services—Visit to Madras—Anecdotes of Lord Wellesley—Return to Calcutta—Appointed Accountant-General.

The first appointment held by Mr. Tucker in the privileged "Civil Service" of the East India Company was that of an assistant in the Accountant-General's Department.* He had proved his aptitude for business of that kind when in the uncovenanted service; and his mercantile speculations, if they had done nothing else, may be presumed to have improved his knowledge of book-keeping and his general acquaintance with financial affairs. I am not, therefore, surprised to learn that his official superior† soon remarked his extraordinary progress, and said that in six weeks Mr. Tucker had done what it would have taken any one else six months to accomplish.

* His appointment bears date October 26, 1792.
† Mr. Larkins.

The Company's Civil Service was, at this time, in a transition-state—fast merging out of it, it may be said, and settling down into solid Respectability. Many have been found to question the wisdom both of the Fiscal and Judicial Reforms of Lord Cornwallis; but all acknowledge that under his administration the morality and efficiency of the Company's Services were raised to a height which they had never attained before. The civil servants had been a mixed race of public functionaries and private traders; and even when open trade had been officially prohibited, they had bought and sold through the medium of native agents, and relied less upon their official earnings than their commercial speculations for the rapid construction of a fortune. But to Lord Cornwallis, as to every other clear-sighted man who had not grown up in the midst of this deplorable state of things, it was obtrusively apparent, that to establish a race of honest and efficient public servants, it was necessary to give them plenty to do, and to pay them handsomely for doing it. The State, it was then declared, demanded all the time and the activity of its servants, and for this exclusive application of their time and their activity it was decreed that they should be remunerated with sufficient liberality to enable them to secure a competence for their declining years, without the aid of private speculation. It was of little use to prohibit the trading of public servants without removing the great incentive to it—the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of making a fortune without it. Cornwallis,

the first great Indian statesman who had not grown up in one or other of the services, saw this with a fresh eye; and under his administration there rose into being a class of well-salaried public functionaries, who, whilst they retained the old names of Merchant and Factor, had little of the commercial atmosphere about them. They became in reality judges, magistrates, and revenue-collectors, and the mask of authority was now seldom or never used to cover the greed of the private dealer.

But this system, when Mr. Tucker entered the service, was not yet perfect in all its parts. To some of the lesser appointments insufficient salaries were attached.* It is related that in the Accountant-General's office—indeed, throughout the first year of his covenanted service—he received only a monthly salary of two hundred rupees. During a portion of this time he acted as a Commissioner of the Court of Requests in Calcutta,† and subsequently, in the spring of the following year (1793), as Register to the Zillah Court of Rajshye. Henry Colebrooke

* Writing in 1792, Mr. Law said: "The Company's servants are of the best families and educations, with dispositions to foster and abilities to improve the present system. At present their salaries are inadequate to the importance of their trusts, and the Governments in India must have lamented the sad necessity for cramping and curtailing. When the Company's finances shall become flourishing, I trust that their servants will participate by enlarged allowances; indeed, the liberality of States is in general proportionate at least with their circumstances. Young men who resign domestic comforts and submit to a temporary exile are entitled to ample compensation for such sacrifices. All are now feeling the embarrassments of the times in India, but I hope they will soon find labor and merit requited by an enriched sovereignty."

† From December, 1792, to the spring of the following year.

was then collector of that place. Between him and Mr. Tucker an intimacy soon sprung up, which was terminated only by death.

Many grave discussions had they, at this time, on the trade and agriculture of the country,* and many a good day's hog-hunting together. In after-years, they appeared as brother-authors; but they never forgot that they had been brother-sportsmen. Often in the decline of life did Mr. Tucker speak delightedly of his sporting excursions in Rajshye with Henry Colebrooke as his companion; and many a story had he to tell to his children of the victories they achieved with the spear.

Nor were these the only delights of his life at this time. Letters came to him from his far-off home in the Bermudas; and they were such letters as gladden the heart of an affectionate son, and inspire him with new constancy and courage to bear up against all the depressing influences of protracted exile. From one at least of these Bermuda letters some extracts may be given. They show in what light Henry St.George Tucker was regarded at this time by the ever-venerated father, from whom he was separated in early boyhood. It need only be premised that in those days the communication, even through England, between the East and West Indies, was not only tedious, but precarious:

* It was at this time that Mr. Tucker first directed his attention to the subject of cotton cultivation in India, in which he never ceased to take the liveliest interest.

"St. George's, May 21, 1793.

"It is a great while, my beloved son, since I have had the pleasure of a letter from you; your last was dated in February, 1792—a long and tedious interval indeed! Our friends, however, in England have informed me that you were well in June, which I was rejoiced to hear. The several articles you were so kind as to send, by way of Philadelphia, to the care of Messrs. Elliston and John Perot, arrived safely. I thank you for them; and your mamma, to whom I have mentioned the receipt of them, will, I doubt not, thank you too. Those gentlemen (the Messrs. Perot, I mean) have been extremely civil; and if you should have it in your power at any time to serve them, or make them any little compliment, I should be glad you would.

"I was afraid, my Hal, that your trusteeship would be productive of much trouble to you; but I hope it will not create you any enemies. I was sure it would prove an arduous business; but, arduous as it may have been, I am convinced that you will acquit yourself of it with honor and reputation. I flatter myself your partnership goes on successfully; but I must own, my son, I never was fond of partnerships—they seldom end happily—the generous and unsuspecting too often fall sacrifices to the more selfish and designing. They cannot, therefore, be entered into with too much circumspection. But I have such confidence in your prudence, that I do not dread any disagreeable consequences from the engagements you have formed. Perhaps your appointment to the service will render it necessary to dissolve them. It is a circumstance I should not regret; though I by no means wish you to desert the interests of your friend.

" . . . I am afraid, my son, you apply yourself too closely to business. You should be careful of your health. Consider how much the welfare of the whole family depends upon you! Your life is of inestimable value to every individual of it. As for me, my sand is now running out very fast; in a few years, according to the common course of things, I must be as if I had never been. . . . .

"I long to know what my poor Geordie is about; and whether he stands any chance for promotion. Perhaps the war with France may be a means of accelerating such an event. Your more than brotherly attention to him he acknowledges in all his letters. How much reason have I to bless that Providence which has bestowed on me a son so dutiful, affectionate, and disinterested as my Hal has on all occasions evinced himself to be! . . . . .

"I write under great lowness of spirits, my Hal, as you, perhaps, will perceive. I am full of apprehensions about your dearest mamma—I cannot tell how she will get home to me again. The passage from England is long, and the times are dangerous. May Heaven, in its goodness, restore her safe to us once more! . . . .

" . . . Adieu, my best of sons!

"Your father prays fervently for you.

"HENRY TUCKER."

All comment upon such letters is mere impertinence. I will only add that, in the passages which I have given, full justice is not done to the recipient, for there is much besides which indicates the self-denying generosity of Henry St.George Tucker, but to which, as delicate as he was generous, he would never have desired an allusion to be made.

In the course of the year 1793, Sir John Shore, of whose appointment to the Governor-Generalship mention is made in another letter from the elder Tucker, arrived in India and commenced his administration.* Mr. Law, it is there stated, had spoken to Shore in terms strongly recommendatory of

* There was an interval of some months between the two events. Sir John Shore arrived in March; but Lord Cornwallis did not take his departure before October.

the young civilian; and the recommendations of the old Behar collector were confirmed by Mr. Barlow, once his Assistant in Gyah,* but now Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, and one of the most influential men in Bengal. Barlow knew that the young man had in him the germs of a first-rate Revenue-officer, and the Governor-General, himself, perhaps, one of the best Revenue-officers that ever served in India, was never slow to secure for that department all the available talent in the State. The Permanent Settlement had by this time become the Law of the land, and the disciple of the "Father" of that great measure was one likely to render good service in the carrying out of its details. At the commencement of the year 1794 Mr. Tucker was appointed Assistant to the Register, and afterwards Deputy-Register of the Sudder Dewanny and Sudder Nizamut Adawluts,† and Assistant to the Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Judicial Departments.‡

In this appointment he continued to serve up to the year 1796,§ when, on Mr. Barlow's nomination to the Chief Secretaryship, he was selected to succeed

* Barlow was Assistant to Mr. Law in the year 1787, when Tucker was at Gyah; and there the intimacy between them commenced.

† The chief Revenue and Judicial Courts at the Presidency.

‡ What was then called "Assistant Sub-Secretary," under which designation Mr. Tucker's name is found attached to numerous official papers up to the year 1795.

§ He had, however, some time previous to this been nominated Register of the Provincial Court of Patna; but Mr. Cowper, one of the members of Council, represented that Mr. Tucker's withdrawal would be a serious loss to the Secretariat, so he was allowed to retain his old appointment with increased allowances.

him as Secretary, or, as official nomenclature went in those days, Sub-Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Departments.* Of this period of Mr. Tucker's life, spent as it was in Calcutta, amidst the routine-work of his official duties, I have little to record. Materials are wanting, and if they were not wanting, there would probably be little to say about a life, one day of which, in all its external environments, differed little from another.† That he was all this time laying up rich experiences is proved by the writings of his later days, in which the inner life of intellectual progress is fairly reflected. During this period he acquired that intimate acquaintance with the details of the internal administration of the country which is so conspicuous in all that he wrote on the subject.

All through the years of Sir John Shore's government—years they were of almost entire repose—Henry St.George Tucker worked, as others were working around him, diligently and hopefully at the desk—seeing there in the chief seat of the empire one who had risen through all the gradations of the service, and thinking that he might do likewise. But there was something more going on all this time than the intellectual progress of which I have spoken; there was financial progress, noticeable and

* The departmental Secretaries were then called Sub-Secretaries, all being under one "Chief Secretary."

† I need not say that there is no lack of official letters among the records of the India House bearing the signature of Henry St.George Tucker—but as he was, during the period to which I am now referring, in a subordinate capacity, I have no right to identify him individually with the correspondence of his department.

great. The results of the Palmer-and-Tucker speculation were still hanging about him; but the pile of debt was gradually diminishing; for with an increased income—an income, indeed, which now was not less than 1200*l.* a year—Tucker indulged in no increased extravagance, but found the chiefest of his pleasures in the contemplation of this diminution of the pile of debt which had stood up so afflictingly before him.

He was now, indeed—health and strength being granted to him to pursue the career of usefulness for which he had been marked out—on the high road to fame and fortune. There were great events in the womb of Time such as are needed to show the stuff of which men of his stamp are made. Reputations do not ripen rapidly in quiet times. On the 17th of May, 1798, a little man with great aims ascended the steps of one of the landing-places of Calcutta; and on the following day the guns of Fort William announced that there was a change of Government.

No two men could have less resembled each other than Lord Wellesley and Sir John Shore—no two administrations could have been more unlike than that of the Irish aristocrat and the son of the supercargo. Lord Wellesley came out to India to conquer Provinces and perplex the Revenue. It was a great time for soldiers and financiers. Lord Wellesley had need of them both, and his quick eye knew where to find them.

It was a season of feverish excitement both in the East and in the West. Threatened with internal revolt and foreign invasion, England stood in an

attitude of defence. France, glutted with the blood of her own subjects, was threatening to descend upon our shores with an army of 100,000 men, and was openly aiding Ireland in the work of rebellion. The Alien Bill was revived. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. There was an unprecedented demand for money and men. Old taxes were doubled and trebled, and new ones, unheard of before, were being levied upon the people. It was the life-struggle of a great country.

In the East there was the same danger and the same excitement. France, already established in Egypt, was pushing her intrigues to the banks of the Jumna and into the heart of Mysore. The great tide of Mahomedan conquest, which had been rolled back by the encroachments of the Feringhee trader, threatened again to pour itself down from the fabulous regions of the Hindoo-Koosh. The son of Hyder Ali was grasping, with warm assurances of friendship, the hand of the descendant of Ahmed Shah. The deposed Usurper of Oude was feeding his resentment by fostering the enmity and the ambition of both; and even the Hindoo Princes, who were ready to betray him, were eager to aid with enormous subsidies the invader whom he invited to Hindostan.*

The crisis, indeed, was a great one. From one end of India to the other the excitement was universal. The mighty heart of Anglo-Indian society was stirred

* It is remarkable that the Rajah of Jyneghur, who subsequently gave up this Vizier Ali to the British authorities, offered to subsidise the army of Zemaun Shah with whom Vizier Ali was in league.

by one emotion of Patriotism. Men were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives in behalf of the country which they had quitted in their boyhood. In the summer of 1798, when Lord Wellesley arrived in India, he found that his countrymen were thinking even more of perils at home than of perils abroad,* eager to assist the great movement that was being made for the defence of the British Isles. At all the Presidencies of India, and in all the great provincial stations, meetings, known as "Patriotic Meetings," were being held, for the purpose of testifying the "fidelity and attachment" of the British inhabitants of India to their "Sovereign and Constitution," by sending home not only addresses of loyalty and words of encouragement, but voluntary contributions of money to aid in the prosecution of the war. From the chief ruler in Government House to the private soldier in his Barracks—every man responded to the call; every man contributed according to his means;† and gladly endured the privations which his patriotic exertions entailed. In this frame of mind Lord Wellesley found the British inhabitants of India when he looked out for the first time upon its white houses and its scorched plains. It was a juncture to tax all the energies of the most energetic of men.

Of matters such as these, relating to the general

* At this time, indeed, all the perils which threatened our Indian possessions had not yet openly manifested themselves.

† That excellent man, Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, contributed 25,000 rupees. Most of the European soldiers in the country sent home a month's pay.

history of the times, it is hardly the province of the biographer to speak. I desire only to show that the season was one in which the chief ruler of India must have seen that he had need, not only of all the best soldiers, but all the best financiers in the Land. To the eye of the unreflecting multitude it appears that great battles are fought only by means of swords and muskets, guns, howitzers, and mortars; and that so long as we have men amongst us able to direct the movements of these swords, muskets, guns, howitzers, and mortars, great wars can be carried on and great victories can be gained. But the statesman knows that there is a mightier instrument still than any one of these things—an instrument without which all these are as nothing—the ever-potential money-bag. He knows that the Commander of Armies is paralysed if the Commander of the Money-bags does not come to his aid. He knows that to the success of a campaign financial skill is not less necessary than military skill, and that if the soldier is to triumph, the financier must be found, at the right time, equal to the occasion. Perhaps it is less difficult to find soldiers than to find financiers; but the first are sure of popular applause, whilst none take heed of the poor wise man who saves the city. Our Indian Empire has more than once tottered on the brink of ruin—not because swords or bayonets have wanted temper, or guns and howitzers the true metal, but because the money-bags have been emptied by exhausting wars, and it has been far more difficult to replenish them than to sweep great armies from the field.

Lord Wellesley—he was then known as Lord Mornington—had halted, on his way to the seat of the Supreme Government, for a few days at Madras; and there he had learnt that the state of affairs in Mysore called immediately for a hostile demonstration against Tippoo Sultan on the part of the British-Indian Government. Imperfectly acquainted with the condition of the Coast Army and the state of the Public Treasury, the young Governor-General had scarcely taken the oaths of office when he sent down instructions to the Madras authorities to prepare immediately a military force to march into the heart of the Mysore dominions. Such a mandate as this burst like a loaded shell on the floor of the Madras Council-Chamber. Mr. Webbe, whom many years afterwards the Duke of Wellington, who knew him well, described as "one of the ablest and honestest of men," was then Chief Secretary, and the main-spring of the Coast Government. Lord Mornington's orders filled him with astonishment and dismay. "I can anticipate," he exclaimed, "nothing but a return of shocking disasters from a premature attack upon Tippoo in our present disabled condition, and the impeachment of Lord Mornington for his temerity." He knew that the army was dispersed, that the muniments of war were unprepared, and that the Treasury was well-nigh empty.* And knowing this he was right. In less emphatic language, General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, urged the

* The Debt at this time (1798) was seven millions and a half sterling. The deficit for the financial year 1797-98 was about thirty-three lakhs.—[*Tucker's Review of Indian Finance.*]

same arguments, whilst, as a soldier, he declared his willingness to obey orders. But the Governor-General had not been many weeks in Calcutta before he recognised the great truth, that soldiers cannot make war without financiers to help them; so the first orders were countermanded, and it was determined to "take time."

Mr. Tucker at this period was young in the service, but he soon fixed the attention of Lord Wellesley, who had a quick eye for the discernment of merit, in whatever direction it lay; and seldom made a mistake. One of the first subjects connected with the internal administration of the country to which the new Governor-General directed his energies, was "a general revision of all the public establishments of Fort William," and the adoption of "a similar measure at Madras and Bombay, as well as at all the subordinate settlements and in all the recent acquisitions from the enemy."* These establishments, for want of proper organisation, had become more costly than efficient, and it was believed that the same administrative materials might, under an adequate revision of the existing arrangements, be rendered more efficient for the service of the State, and less burdensome to the public revenues. A special Committee was, therefore, appointed, under the immediate superintendence of the Governor-General, to carry out the details of this revision in the Bengal Presidency. It was to consist of the President of the Board of Revenue; one of the members

* Minute of Lord Mornington, June 12, 1798.—[*MS. Records.*]

of the Board of Trade; the Accountant-General, and the Sub-Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Departments—Mr. Tucker. "These gentlemen," wrote the Governor-General, "I propose to appoint to be a Committee for the purpose already mentioned—Mr. Tucker to act as Secretary to the Committee."

It was about this time that Mr. Tucker submitted to Lord Wellesley, among other papers relating to the Public Finances, a plan for the establishment of a new Bank, to be partly under Government control. Some years before* a proposition of a somewhat similar character had found some favor with the authorities in India, but had been resolutely discountenanced by the Court of Directors. "We have very great doubts upon our minds," they wrote, "respecting the utility of such an establishment in India. You are, therefore, to give no countenance or encouragement whatsoever to any plan or plans that may have been, or may hereafter be, laid before you by individuals for any such establishment, and you are not to admit or receive any notes or other engagements from the private Banks as a payment in the collection of our Revenues, or in any other department of our public or commercial concerns."† But since this was written, the advantages of such an establishment had become more and more obvious to Indian Financiers. Among others, Mr. Tucker had made it the subject

* In 1786.

† General letter of the Court of Directors to Bengal, Jan. 10, 1787.—[*MS. Records.*]

of much grave contemplation; and before the arrival of Lord Mornington he had completed a scheme for the establishment of a Bank, by order of the Governor-General in Council, who was to be competent to pass such rules and regulations for its better administration as might appear necessary to him. It was to be established on a capital of fifty lakhs of Sicca rupees, divided into five hundred shares, two-fifths of which were to be subscribed by Government, and the remainder by private proprietors, who were to assume the character of a corporate body. The affairs of the Bank were to be managed by nine directors, of whom six were to be appointed by Government, and the remainder by the shareholders. The notes of the Bank were to be received as legal tenders by Government at their Treasury, and other offices at the Presidency, but not at the provincial treasuries. The business of the Bank was to be confined as much as possible to the discounting of bills and the granting of loans, for short periods, for the accommodation of merchants and the general convenience of the public—but no larger sum than five lakhs of rupees was at any time to be advanced to Government, or than one lakh to a private individual. Such, in its leading outlines, was the scheme which, early in the year 1798, Mr. Tucker had prepared, and which, soon after the arrival of Lord Wellesley, he submitted to that nobleman. The Governor-General recognised at once the importance of the establishment, and entered with the liveliest interest into Mr. Tucker's general financial views—

but the great business of the war with Tippoo, and the anticipated invasion of India by the French, were at this time engrossing his thoughts and consuming his energies; and any statesman might have been pardoned in such a juncture for postponing the consideration of measures which did not press for immediate adjustment. I shall have more to say on this subject in another chapter. The new century had not long dawned upon Bengal, when the Banking establishment, for the initiation of which Mr. Tucker had so ably contended, became what it now is—a fact.

But Napoleon was at this time, on what is now the great high road from England to India, issuing proclamations from the burning sands, which stretch beneath the Pyramids of Egypt. At such a time, the physical defence of our Anglo-Indian Empire was necessarily the first thought of its rulers. The "defence of the entrance of the river (Ganges) against a naval force, and the best means of preventing the progress of a (hostile) armament, on the supposition of its having gained the entrance of the river,"* were among the primal objects of Lord Wellesley's concern; and he thought too, at the same time, how the French troops might be received, on the great plain of Calcutta, if they were to effect a landing at the ghauts of that palaced city. The patriotism of the Anglo-Indian residents might be turned, he thought, to profitable account.

* Lord Mornington to the Secret Committee, October 30, 1798.—[*MS. Records.*]

"We have resolved," he wrote, "to embody the European militia of the town of Calcutta, and to form such of your civil servants and others as shall offer their services into a body of cavalry, which may prepare to act on any emergency."* And very earnestly these "civil servants and others" responded to the call.† There are few now living who can recall the actualities of that time of threatened invasion. But the reign of the Calcutta volunteers extended for some few years into the present century, and there are many still amongst us by whom its later days are vividly remembered. It would be easy to multiply anecdotes illustrative of the military eccentricities of the Anglo-Indian volunteers; but they differ little from those which are told of the amateur soldiering on the banks of the Thames.‡ In both cases, the service which they would have rendered, in case of an actual invasion, still remains an unsolved problem; but the conviviality and good-fellowship, which the association promoted, are recorded facts.

* Lord Mornington to the Secret Committee, October 30, 1798.—[*MS. Records.*]

† In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated Nov. 21, 1798, the Governor-General highly commended the promptitude and cordiality with which his call had been responded to, declaring that his "orders had been obeyed with an alacrity and zeal," which "strongly indicate the resolution of the Company's civil servants, and of all the European and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, to devote their personal services to the defence of the seat of the Supreme Government, in any exigency which may arise."

‡ One exception, however, may be made; for it has often been related that on wet mornings, when the volunteers turned out for parade on foot, every gentleman had a servant in attendance, with a brick to place beneath his master's feet, and they who know the state of the Calcutta *maidaun*, or great plain, in the middle of the rains, will not much wonder at the precaution.

It is enough for the purposes of this Memoir to state that Mr. Tucker was an active member of the amateur Cavalry force; and as he was an excellent horseman, and full of spirit, he doubtless would have distinguished himself as a soldier, if that had been the mission which he was decreed to fulfil. As it was, he rose rapidly from the rank of a private to that of a captain in the regiment; and he often playfully adverted, in his declining years, to the days when grave civilians forgot for a time the affairs of the Dewannee and the Nizamut, sitting in committee on patterns of volunteer uniform, or dining together at Macdonald's tavern to take leave of some distinguished comrade, and, perhaps, to present him with a sword.*

Whilst all these preparations were going on for the defence of the Presidency against threatened invasion, the Governor-General was bethinking himself of the mental qualifications of the civilians whose physical powers he was turning to account. It appeared to him that responsible offices were conferred on young civilians, little qualified by a knowledge of the languages of the country and the regulations of Government for the discharge of the important duties which devolved upon them. The great idea of the establishment of the College of

* The Volunteer Cavalry of Calcutta—or, as more correctly it should be called, the European Militia Cavalry—was organised by Colonel Welsh, who, on his return to England, was presented, on full parade, with a handsome gold-handled sword. As late as 1805, Mr. Tucker was addressed in some official correspondence in the military department as "Captain Henry St.George Tucker, commanding the Calcutta European Militia Cavalry."

Fort William was then taking shape in his mind. With the pressing business of the war in the South before him, he could not then bring the design to perfection; but, in the mean while, he issued an order decreeing that "from and after the 1st of January, 1801, no servant will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned, until he shall have passed an examination in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification for such respective offices." On the subject of the necessary examination in the native languages and the formation of a qualified Board of Examiners, that eminent Orientalist, Dr. Gilchrist, was consulted. The Board was "to be selected from gentlemen who were known to be competent judges of Indian languages." Among the list of those recommended by Dr. Gilchrist—a list which includes the honored names of Barlow and Edmonstone—was that of Mr. Tucker, who, in spite of all the disadvantages under which he had labored, had diligently studied the Oriental languages, from almost the first day of his residence in the East.

The order of which I have spoken was issued on the 21st December, 1798. Four days afterwards, Lord Wellesley embarked from the water-gate of Fort William upon the Government yacht, which carried him down the river to join the frigate commissioned to convey him to Madras. The war which was now to be prosecuted with unfailing vigor against Tippoo Sultan demanded his personal super-

intendence, and he hastened, therefore, to the Coast, that no time might be lost in references to the seat of the Supreme Government.

In the spring of the following year, the health of Mr. Tucker, severely tried as it had been by his unceasing application to his official duties, gave way beneath the continued tension, and he was compelled to lay aside the pen. He had now been for more than twelve years, with slight intermission, under the enervating influence of the hot, damp climate of the low countries on the banks of the Ganges, severely tried by those two worst enemies of health in *all* countries, much intellectual toil and mental anxiety. It was time that he should cease awhile from his work. So, in the spring of 1799, he obtained leave of absence from his appointment, and sailed for Madras.

Much thought had he, too, even then, of turning to profitable account this permitted season of leisure and recreation. The war in Mysore was at its height; the Governor-General was at the southern Presidency. To Mr. Tucker it seemed, therefore, that whilst the sea-breezes were recruiting his strength, he might still, at the elbow of the Governor-General, be exercising his official experience in the service of the State. He arrived at a propitious moment. The Presidency was in a transport of joy. The guns of Fort St. George were announcing the receipt of glad tidings from Mysore. The stronghold of the Sultan had fallen, and Tippoo himself was—History.

Rightly had Mr. Tucker anticipated that his ser-

vices would be required on the Coast. The Governor-General, in such a juncture, had especial need of active and intelligent secretaries; and the circumstances of the War and the Victory had diminished the *personnel* of his staff. Colonel Kirkpatrick, his Military Secretary, was at Seringapatam; and Henry Wellesley was now to be despatched to England to communicate to the British Government "all the detailed circumstances and intricate considerations connected with the late Mysore war," and the pacification which had ensued. In the new arrangements for the completion of the personal staff of the Governor-General which then became necessary, Mr. Tucker was included. He was appointed to act as Military Secretary, and he took up the quarters, in the temporary residence of the Governor-General, vacated by his Lordship's brother.

The duties which he was called upon to perform were various. Lord Wellesley knew the character of the man—knew that he could rely on his energy and ability—and he did not scruple to tax them to the utmost. Often, in after-days, did Mr. Tucker speak of all the circumstances of his residence at Madras in this momentous summer of 1799. Brought constantly into close official and personal intercourse with the Governor-General, he had abundant opportunity of observing the wonderful quickness of apprehension and the unequalled intellectual activity which distinguished the character of this remarkable man. Little more than a year had elapsed since

the Governor-General had for the first time looked out, from the deck of the *Virginie,* on the white surf and the low coast of Madras; yet even now men who had been for long years storing up rich local experiences found him a ripe Indian statesman, and stood abashed before the superior knowledge of the titled novice.

Some striking illustrations of the quickness with which Lord Wellesley grasped all the salient points of a great question, and the boldness with which he enunciated the views thus hastily formed, were brought, at this time, under the immediate notice of the subject of this Memoir. One example may be cited. At a late hour one night the Governor-General summoned Mr. Tucker to his presence. Giving him a bundle of papers of considerable bulk, he requested the Secretary to make a *précis* of their contents, and to bring it to him on the following morning. The performance of such a duty demanded not only the closest application during the night, but some previous knowledge of the subject. Fortunately, Mr. Tucker was acquainted with the general bearings of the case. The question related to the future relations of the British Government with the principality of Tanjore.* At the appointed

* It had been discovered that Ameer Singh, the *de facto* Rajah of Tanjore, was not the legal heir to the throne, but that Serfojee, the adopted son of the late Prince, had claims to the sovereignty which the British Government were bound to recognise. It was proposed, therefore, to pension Ameer Singh, and to enter into a treaty with the other Prince, by which he was to become a mere puppet in our hands upon receipt of an annual payment of a lakh of star-pagodas (about 40,000*l.*) and a fifth of the net revenues. The treaty with Serfojee was dated October 25, 1799.

hour a compendium of all the facts bearing upon the case was placed in the hands of the Governor-General. He had little more than an hour in which to make himself acquainted with all the circumstances set forth in Mr. Tucker's abstract; but armed with this paper and with the writer of it himself, whom he had requested to sit beside him, at his elbow, he entered the Council-Chamber without a misgiving. The Governor of Madras and the members of Council were invited to declare their opinions; but the majority, more accustomed to elaborate minute-writing than to extemporary speaking, sate disconcerted and confused, and little able to set forth their views when suddenly called to enunciate them. Believing that Lord Wellesley was at all events no better informed than themselves, their astonishment was great when his Lordship addressed the Council—speaking fluently and well for more than an hour—entering into all the minutest circumstances relating to the history and condition of Tanjore, and setting forth his views with regard to our future relations with the State in a series of luminous and convincing arguments. It seemed strange, indeed, to the old Indian Councillors that the Governor-General, with the experience of a single year, should be better acquainted with all the intricacies of such a subject than themselves. Perhaps in reality he was not. Lord Wellesley was always quick to learn and ready to speak, and his self-reliance was unbounded. But there are men of slower perceptions, wanting the faculty of ready

utterance, who possess more knowledge than they can educe at a moment's notice, and are useful, too, after their kind. Mr. Tucker always narrated this incident as a remarkable illustration of the powers of Lord Wellesley's mind—powers which enabled him to master all the details of a difficult question in an incredibly short space of time. But his modesty prevented him from adding, that the Governor-General spoke from the secretary's brief; that the real labor of analysis and arrangement had been performed by Mr. Tucker; and that much of the speaker's fluency and clearness may have been due to the luminous expositions of the scribe.

In his attention to business Lord Wellesley* was indefatigable, and he expected others to be the same. He took little heed of hours, and was not always mindful of the comfort and convenience of the functionaries by whom he was surrounded. A little arbitrary and capricious perhaps, he taxed the patience and powers of endurance of his secretaries in a manner only to be justified by the pressing necessities of critical times. On one occasion, for example, as Mr. Tucker used to relate, the Governor-General, at a late hour of night, passing his room, saw that he was just retiring to rest. A few minutes afterwards a message came from his lordship, requesting Mr. Tucker's immediate attendance. Thinking that only business of very pressing importance, ad-

* In this and other places I have spoken of his lordship by the name by which he is known in history—but he was at this time not Marquis Wellesley, but the Earl of Mornington.

mitting not even of a few minutes' delay, ought to have summoned him from his bed, the Secretary hastened at once into the presence of the Governor-General in his dressing-gown and slippers, and asked what were his instructions. The silent rebuke seemed to be understood. Lord Wellesley placed a paper in the secretary's hands without uttering a word, and he never again summoned him to his presence at so unreasonable an hour.*

That the official and personal intercourse between the Governor-General and his secretary caused each to regard the other, in spite of such incidents as this, with extreme respect, is proved not more by what Mr. Tucker was wont to say, in after-life of Lord Wellesley, than by what Lord Wellesley did towards Mr. Tucker. As the time for the Governor-General's departure from Madras nearly approached, he intimated to Mr. Tucker his desire that he should remain at that Presidency, with the office of Register of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawluts, "with a view to his employment in the important duty of framing a code of Regulations for Madras, upon the model of that which had been established by the Government of Bengal." The Cornwallis-and-Barlow Revenue and Judicial Regulations had found especial favor in the eyes of Lord Wellesley, and he

* Another story which Mr. Tucker used to tell with reference to this period deserves at least a place in a note. One morning, at breakfast, Lord Wellesley, on breaking his egg, found that its freshness was at least questionable, and rebuked his attendant—a Frenchman, half valet, half butler—for the offence. "Milor!" said the man, gravely, "dat not your Lordship's egg—dat's de aide-de-camp's egg!"

was eager to see them in full operation upon the Coast. Tucker had for some time been holding office under Barlow; he had known him long, and was thoroughly acquainted with his views. A fitter agent for the accomplishment of this great object could not have been nominated. But the appointment was distasteful to Mr. Tucker. He did not wish to be detached from the service of his own Presidency. He believed, and rightly, that the selection of a Bengal officer for such an office as this would be a reflection upon the whole civil service of Madras, and would necessarily place the incumbent himself in a most invidious position. Still, it was difficult to refuse an appointment, which the Governor-General urged upon him as one demanded by the necessities of the State. So Mr. Tucker, modestly stating that he felt himself not wholly adequate, without some further preparation, to the performance of such important duties, solicited permission to return to Calcutta, in order that he might take counsel with Mr. Barlow, and profit by the experience of that eminent administrator. To this Lord Wellesley consented, and in the month of September Mr. Tucker accompanied the vice-regal party to Calcutta.

The new civil arrangements, consequent upon the revision of the establishment, which had been ordered upon the first arrival of the new Governor-General, were now to be brought into operation. The Secretariat had been re-organised. It was henceforth to consist of a Chief Secretary and three departmental

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Secretaries. The old title of Sub-Secretary was abolished, and Mr. Tucker was appointed "Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Judicial Departments."* From this time he seems to have abandoned the idea of returning to Madras; but Lord Wellesley still clung to the belief that it would be expedient to depute Mr. Tucker to the Coast for the furtherance of what he described as "the great object of his anxiety." It was not until the very close of the year that the reports which he received from Madras convinced him that he might entrust this difficult and important duty to the officers of that Presidency. "The very able report of your Board of Revenue," he wrote to Lord Clive, on the 31st of December, 1799, "and the intelligent and satisfactory letters of Mr. Webbe to Mr. Barlow, afford abundant proof that your service can supply both knowledge and talents sufficient for the execution of the great plan in my contemplation, without the aid of any person deputed from Bengal. I have not sent Mr. Tucker to you, not only because I am

* The order is dated October 9, 1799, and is contained in the following words:—"The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council having taken into consideration the present establishment of the office of the Secretary to Government and four sub-secretaries, the establishment shall in future consist of a Chief Secretary to the Government and of four secretaries—viz., one secretary for the Secret, Political, and Foreign Departments; one secretary for the Public Department; one for the Judicial and Revenue Departments; and one for the Military Department. . . . . The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following appointments:—Mr. G. H. Barlow, Chief Secretary to the Government; Lieut.-Col. William Kirkpatrick, Secretary to the Government in the Secret, Political, and Foreign Departments; Mr. H. St.George Tucker, Secretary to Government in the Judicial and Revenue Departments; Lieut. L. Hook, Secretary to Government in the Military Department."

persuaded his presence at Fort St. George is unnecessary, but because I wish to leave to your service the full and undivided credit of its own reform."*

Mr. Tucker had been scarcely eight years in the Covenanted Civil Service of the Company when this important office was conferred upon him. It was an office so much beyond the ordinary scope of promotion that he was compelled for some time to hold it with a diminished salary—the regulations of the service not admitting an officer of his standing to draw the full allowance attached to it. I do not know anything that could more clearly indicate the high estimation in which he was held by the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme Council.† "I have found," said Lord Wellesley, about this time, "the officers of the Secretariat to possess the industry of clerks with the talents of statesmen."

But other duties even more important than this were about soon to engage the energies and abilities of Mr. Tucker. There were great events then looming in no very remote distance, and the Governor-General saw that he had need, at such a time, of the

* *MS. Records.*

† The circumstance is thus explained by Lord Wellesley, who wrote:—"I propose that Mr. Tucker be appointed Secretary to the Judicial Department, for which he is peculiarly well qualified. His standing in the service does not admit of his drawing a higher salary than that which he now receives. His merits, however, and the fundamental principle of the present arrangement, require that his salary should be augmented to whatever his standing in the service may admit of his drawing, until he is competent to hold the full salary of his office, which I propose to fix at 50,000 rupees per annum."

best financial skill that the country could yield. Mr. Cox was at this time Accountant-General. In the course of the year 1800 he fell sick; and Mr. Tucker, still retaining the office and discharging the business of his secretaryship, performed Mr. Cox's duties until he was able again to resume his work. But early in the following year an opportunity occurred for the permanent translation of Mr. Tucker to this important office—an opportunity of which Lord Wellesley was eager to avail himself. Mr. Cox was appointed a member of the Board of Revenue; and then, the Governor-General, who during his residence at Madras had remarked the extraordinary financial ability of Mr. Tucker, called upon him to take charge of the general revenues of the empire.

To Mr. Tucker the proposed change was not personally acceptable. He delighted in the duties of the Secretariat; and the emoluments of the new office were not equal to those which he was called upon to abandon. But he cheerfully obeyed the call, and entered at once upon the arduous and responsible duties of the Accountant-Generalship with characteristic energy and zeal. He had at this time just completed his thirtieth year, and had not been ten years in the Covenanted Service of the East India Company. He had half a century of usefulness yet before him; but he had even now attained one of the highest, and at such a time the most important, offices that could be conferred upon him by the State.

CHAPTER IV.

State of the Public Finances—Public Credit—Mr. Tucker's Measures—Plan of a New Bank—Reduction of Interest—New Loans—Improvement of Public Credit—Connexion with Palmer's House—Mr. Tucker's Double Duties—Continued Financial Improvement.

It was no small responsibility, it was no slight labor that Mr. Tucker had undertaken. Financial embarrassment was at this time new to the Indian Government. Lord Cornwallis, on laying down the reins of office, had left an overflowing treasury; and it was not until the closing year of Sir John Shore's administration that the surplus had disappeared. But Lord Wellesley found that terrible word *deficit* ready written for him in the Indian accounts, and costly military operations were forced upon him by the hostility of Asiatic enemies and the intrigues of their European allies.

In these times the making of wars, with an empty treasury, is a matter sufficiently perplexing to the Indian financier. But there were two causes which at the commencement of the century were ever in grievous operation to aggravate his perplexities. In the first place, there was a two-fold demand for money. Money was required for political purposes,

and money was required for commercial purposes. There were armies to be paid; and there was the Investment to be provided. In the second place, there was no such thing as Public Credit. When the revenue was exhausted, money was to be borrowed. But money was then obtained by Government only at ruinous rates of interest. The Company then paid as dearly for the money they borrowed from the community, as a needy customer who has the misfortune to overdraw his account pays to the most usurious House of Agency that ever beggared its constituents and made them exiles for life.

Nor was the general want of confidence in Government expressed even by the necessity of paying twelve per cent. on the money which they raised by loan. In the spring of 1801 this twelve-per-cent. paper—Treasury-notes, payable in the ensuing autumn—was selling at a discount of three or four per cent. The native bankers of Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Benares, and other places, had no faith in Government securities, and either held back their capital or employed it in their private speculations. Exorbitant rates of interest were obtainable from the landholders, who looked, under the operations of the Permanent Settlement, to the realisation of a still larger interest from the improvement of their lands. And the general disorderment of the Company's finances abroad opened many sources of gain to the capitalist, who was made the medium of exchange between different districts, and trafficked largely in the metallic currency.

There was a scarcity of silver coin in those days. It was much needed by Government for the payment of the troops, for advances to weavers, molunghees, and others, and the native capitalists endeavoured to sweep the largest possible supplies of it into their own hands. The Revenue-payer was for the most part largely indebted to the native capitalist, through whom his payments were principally made to Government. The capitalist paid the amount into the Public Treasury in gold. But for the practical purposes of Government the gold coin was of little use. It was necessary, therefore, to convert it into silver, and the silver was in the hands of the native capitalist. It was only to be bought. The consequence was, that the gold coin was at a discount, sometimes of as much as six or seven per cent., and large sums of money were lost to the State by financial operations which it was not in their power to control.

To the remedy of these evils Mr. Tucker now brought the experience of a practical man of business and the skill of an adroit financier. He looked the mischief steadfastly in the face, and struck boldly at a vital point. He knew that to be weak is to be miserable. To confess weakness is to be miserable in the extreme. Now what was all this borrowing at twelve per cent.—this subserviency to the native capitalist—but a confession of weakness of the worst kind? To pay exorbitant interest upon temporary advances of money, whether the accommodation be sought by an individual, or a Government, is equally

ruinous to the credit of the private or the public borrower. The capitalist looks askance at the loan-seeker, who is, or appears to be, in such desperate straits as to seek assistance on these ruinous terms. Whilst the Government were paying twelve per cent. for the money they borrowed, their securities were at a discount, because their credit was bad. It was plain enough to the Accountant-General that if the Public Credit could be established on a secure basis, all the rest would soon follow. This, indeed, was the one great end to be attained, and a reduction of the rate of interest on public securities was to be both the cause and the effect of this establishment of Public Credit.

To provide, however, for the immediate exigencies of the State was necessarily his first care. Schemes of future extrication must give place to the reality of present embarrassment. It is permitted neither to men nor to nations all at once to take large views of financial reform. The Accountant-General, at the seat of the Supreme Government, had not only to provide for the wants of the Presidency to which he was immediately attached, but to answer the demands of Madras and Bombay, which could not meet their own charges. No small portion of Mr. Tucker's time, during the first few months of his tenure of office as Finance Minister, was consumed by the arrangements which it was necessary to make for the supply of remittances and the regulation of exchange operations between the different Treasuries in the Company's dominions. These operations had

hitherto been carried on at a ruinous cost to Government, and, as I have already briefly explained, to the continual profit of the native capitalists through whom they were principally effected. At this time certain provinces of the great principality of Oude—known in History as the "Ceded Provinces"—were passing into our hands.* In such a conjuncture the Lucknow Treasury was found to be a most serviceable auxiliary; not merely on account of what the new provinces actually promised to yield—perhaps in this respect their capabilities may have been overrated†—but because a skilful financier, by a judicious regulation of the exchange between that place and Calcutta, might obviate the necessity of that ruinous intervention of the native capitalist, which, through so many different channels, abstracted so much from the Public Treasury into the hands of the bankers and shroffs. "By regulating the exchange between Calcutta and Lucknow," wrote Mr. Tucker to Colonel Scott, who was then Resident at the latter place, "we shall not only obtain the remittance of the surplus tribute on the most advantageous terms, but we may also prevent or check the exportation of silver from the Company's provinces, the melting down of our

* It was not until November that the treaty under which these provinces passed into our hands was signed. The financial operations of the year (1801) to which reference is made, related principally to the Oude subsidy and to the trade with Lucknow. The collection of the revenues did not devolve upon us until the end of the year.

† A large number, too, of Lucknow rupees—a depreciated currency—were sent to the Calcutta Mint for re-coinage; and, owing to the inefficiency of the establishment, came out again so slowly that the financial operations of Government were considerably obstructed by the delay.

rupees, and generally much of the traffic in the precious metals, which at present is supposed to exist. Heretofore I have had no certain data for my guidance, and I have consequently proceeded much at random, influenced more by our immediate necessities than by any other consideration. These necessities, however, will, I hope, be less urgent hereafter, and I shall, therefore, be able to take a larger view of the subject."

Like a skilful physician, indeed, he addressed himself in the first instance to the "palliation of urgent symptoms;" but the remedies which he applied were not without their effect upon the seat of the disease. It was no small thing in itself to show that Government were becoming more and more independent of the monied interests, and could manage their remittances and exchanges without the intervention of the bankers and shroffs. This in itself did something towards the establishment of Public Credit; and in the month of September, Mr. Barlow was able to write to the Governor-General, who had taken his departure on a tour to the Upper Provinces: "I made it my first object to inquire into the state of the public credit since your Lordship's departure, and I am happy to have it in my power to transmit to your Lordship very favorable accounts on the subject, which I received from Mr. Tucker." The state of affairs, under judicious management, was beginning to improve even more rapidly than the Finance Minister himself had predicted—before, indeed, he had time to take the "larger views" of

which he at this time was referring only in brief anticipatory outline.

Among the objects embraced in these larger views was the institution of that Public Bank to which allusion has been made in the preceding chapter. The design, since it was first sketched by Mr. Tucker, had been closely considered by him in all its details, and he had taken counsel with men of judgment and experience at the Presidency, and discussed it in all its bearings upon the financial interests both of the Government and the Public. It was his conviction that by bringing the capital of such an establishment into competition with that of the shroffs and bankers, the value of money would soon be brought down to its proper level, and the rate of interest both upon public and private loans greatly reduced. This, indeed, is something so obvious, that the only wonder is that the project was so long in course of accomplishment. Mr. Tucker was eager that the sanction of Government should be granted at once; but the plan of the Bank was thrown into the usual crucible of official delay. Nothing was done before the Governor-General left the Presidency; and as nothing seemed likely to be done, Mr. Tucker thought it expedient to press the subject again on his lordship's attention; so in October, he wrote:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, K.P.
&c. &c. &c.

"17th October, 1801.

"MY LORD,—I have refrained from intruding on your Lordship's time, as every circumstance connected with my im-

mediate duty, which it could be necessary for me to report, has, I believe, been communicated by Mr. Barlow. I only now, indeed, address your Lordship in consequence of hearing from Mr. Barlow that previously to deciding on the plan which I some time since submitted for the establishment of a Public Bank, your Lordship expected to receive from me some further explanations upon the subject.

"The plan has been much canvassed by different individuals, and several alterations have been suggested to me. Sir John Anstruther, in particular, has had the kindness to give it his attention; and as his observations appear to me to be entitled to weight, and as they, in fact, comprise all the objections which have been urged against the plan, I shall beg leave to submit them for your Lordship's consideration, with such remarks as may occur to me:

Whether the Bank shall be a corporate body?

Sir John Anstruther thinks it unnecessary, and that there is no power in this country to constitute it such.

The only object in constituting it a corporate body would be to limit the responsibility of the Proprietors to the amount of capital subscribed by them; whereas, if this be not done, the whole of their property will be answerable for the debts of the Bank.

The limitation of responsibility would certainly be more agreeable to the subscribers; but it would probably be more satisfactory to the public that the responsibility should be general. The risk, however, to either party appears to me so very trifling, that I consider it almost a matter of indifference whether the Bank be rendered a corporate body or not. If it should be hereafter found necessary, a charter of incorporation might, I conclude, be obtained from England without difficulty.

Whether the Governor-General in Council shall retain a general legislative power of altering the constitution of the Bank—that is, the original compact between the parties?

Sir J. A. thinks that it would be sufficient to retain a negative; that the original contract should not be altered, except by the consent of the parties, to be determined by a vote of the majority of the Proprietors; that

I think that this negative will answer every necessary purpose, and that the limitation of Government's interference will be satisfactory to the Proprietors. I, myself, should prefer that the Government retained

Government, however, should have in every instance the power of rejecting such proposed alterations; that whenever Government themselves may be desirous of introducing new regulations, they should be brought forward by their Directors for the determination of the Proprietors.

a general power of altering the constitution of the establishment, because I am confident that this power could not be lodged elsewhere with equal safety. The negative, however, will enable them to prevent wrong measures, and this will be sufficient for the purposes of security. It is scarcely to be presumed that the Proprietors will refuse to adopt measures which may be proposed for their benefit.

Whether there should not be some restriction on the transfer of shares without the consent of the Directors?

Sir J. A. thinks that the transfer of shares should not be made without previously obtaining the acquiescence of the Directors, as such transfers affect the security of the Bank as far as it rests on individual responsibility.

This will be a very proper precaution if the Bank be not constituted a corporate body.

Whether the moiety proposed to be subscribed in 8 per cent. paper should not be taken in Treasury Bills or 12 per cent. notes?

This I should prefer. I only proposed 8 per cents. with a view to accommodation; but the other paper is far preferable, as it would be soon realised in cash, and consequently enable the Bank to extend its operations at an earlier period.

Whether merchandise and jewels should be received as security for loans?

This was proposed with the same view, but I would readily acquiesce in the negative, as the receipt of goods will be always attended with trouble, sometimes with risk, and it might involve the Bank in litigation.

Whether the Bank should not be allowed to receive payment of interest —of salary bills—bills of exchange, &c., &c., from parties who may have open accounts with it?

I see no objection to this, and it will be a convenience to individuals. The agency houses may perhaps think it some little encroachment on their province.

"The foregoing are the only points which it appeared to me necessary to refer to your Lordship; and if it should be determined to adopt the plan, I can readily modify it according to the directions which I may receive.

"I am very solicitous to obtain your Lordship's final orders as soon as possible, because if the plan be not determined on immediately, it cannot be undertaken in the present year. From the month of February to the month of August the collections on account of the land-revenue are so inconsiderable in Bengal, that I should not be able to command a sufficient sum in specie during that interval.

"Of the practicability of the measure, if your Lordship determined to undertake it, I have now very little doubt—of its expediency, I never had any doubt. I am, however, less anxious about it at present than I was some months ago, as the improved, and improving state of our credit has rendered it less necessary. Still, I think it would greatly facilitate every other financial arrangement; and although it may not be essentially necessary, it would, I am persuaded, be beneficial.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful, humble servant,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Calcutta, 17th October, 1801."

The Bank, however, was not suffered to help Lord Wellesley through the financial difficulties which then lay before him. Its establishment belongs not at all to this chapter of Indian history. The project was flung, like many other beneficent projects, into the great Hereafter; and it is fortunate that it ever came out again. It was not until 1806 that the Bank of Bengal became a fact.

Other measures, however, conducive to the same end, were brought into immediate operation. The Treasury-bills, which in March were at a discount, were now in September at par, and Mr. Tucker proposed to reduce the rate of interest which they bore from 12 to about 10 per cent. It was his project to issue bills bearing a daily instead of a yearly interest, and with this intention he addressed a circular letter to the principal members of the commercial community, asking whether they were "aware of any objections to the measure." After detailing the amount of daily interest to be borne by the several bills issued from the Treasury, he wrote:

"My reasons for the proposed change are briefly as follows:

"1st. To effect a gradual reduction of interest. I am, however, by no means desirous of forcing things precipitately, or to make any attempt without a very fair prospect of success.

"2ndly. To consult the convenience of individuals, as well as of our own officers, by establishing a rate of interest which may be easily calculated by every person who can add up numbers. By so doing, too, the Treasury-bills will be much better calculated for a medium of exchange.

"3rdly. To enhance the value of the Treasury-bills at present outstanding, as well as of other Government securities generally.

"4thly. By issuing the Treasury-bills in smaller sums, and at a lower rate of interest, I wish to familiarise the public, by degrees, to a paper or bank currency.

"In justification of the proposed measure, I think it necessary to observe:

"1st. That I understand the Treasury-bills are at present in great demand, and that they are not to be procured always even at par.

"That as long as these bills circulate at par they are obviously of great use in this settlement, inasmuch as they increase the circulating medium.

"That I have every reason to believe their value will increase rather than diminish, the amount outstanding being much reduced of late, and the expected issues being inconsiderable.

"Indeed, I think it probable that, by the end of February, none of the Treasury-bills at present outstanding will remain in the market.

"Should any objections occur to you, I shall be much obliged by your communicating them to me, as I do not propose to recommend the measure hastily."

The measure, received as it was with entire satisfaction by the principal members of the mercantile community, was supported by Mr. Barlow and sanc-

tioned with approbation by the Governor-General, to whom it was submitted.*

The interest on these bills, which before the close of the year were "obtainable with difficulty by persons desirous of purchasing them," was again reduced from 10 and a fraction per cent. to 9 and a fraction per cent., and the twelve-per-cent. loan was closed in the course of November.†

But it was obvious, that whilst the revenues of India could not be made to pay the expenses of its government, the further borrowing of money would, under any circumstances, have been a necessity imposed upon us by the exigencies of our position. But the necessity was in this case not so calamitous as, considering that the great object of our pecuniary operations at this time, after providing for present

* "I have the honor," wrote Mr. Barlow to Lord Wellesley, "to enclose a copy of a letter written by Mr. Tucker to several of the principal mercantile houses, under date the 16th inst. (Sept., 1801). The gentlemen to whom the letter is addressed, and others who have been consulted on the subject, entirely approve of the measure suggested by Mr. Tucker; and he is very desirous that your Lordship's sanction should be received for carrying it into effect immediately. It appears to me to be in every respect advisable." Upon this Lord Wellesley wrote: "I entirely approve the measure, and I request you to carry it into effect immediately. As it is an important measure of finance, you should state on record that it is adopted with my concurrence." —[*MS. Records.*]

† See letter of Lord Wellesley to Secret Committee, October 16, 1801:— "Public credit gradually improved, and at the end of September last the Treasury-bills not only circulated at par, but were obtained with difficulty by persons desirous of purchasing them. This favorable change in the state of public credit induced the Accountant-General to suggest the closing of the twelve-per-cent. loan on the 2nd of November next; and also to recommend the reduction of the interests on the Treasury-bills from 12 per cent. to 9 rupees 2 annas per cent. per annum. The propositions of the Accountant-General having been previously referred to the Governor-General, the Vice-President in Council, with his Excellency's sanction, adopted the recommendation of the Accountant-General."

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emergencies, was to establish the confidence of the community in the financial stability of the Government, it might reasonably appear to be. An impression was gaining ground that the prosperity of the Company was such that the public debt was about to be gradually discharged. At such a time, therefore, the opening of a new loan might have seemed to be peculiarly inappropriate; but the Accountant-General looked at the matter in another light, and thus explained the circumstances of the case in a letter to Mr. Barlow, who was then President in Council:

"TO THE HONORABLE G. H. BARLOW.

"13th of February, 1802.

"DEAR MR. BARLOW,—I have the pleasure of sending you the draft of the advertisement.

"I should have mentioned one possible ill effect of the loan.

"The rapid fall of the discount is perhaps in a great degree to be ascribed to an opinion which I believe now prevails, that means will be found for the gradual discharge of the public debt. Now the opening of a new loan may appear such an inconsistency as to destroy this illusion (if it be an illusion) altogether; for the public will very naturally ask, 'Why should the Government negotiate new loans, if they really have any prospect of being able to pay off the old ones?'

"On the other hand, it may be expected to occur to them (for it is pretty nearly the real state of the case), that we are borrowing at a lower rate of interest to pay off heavier incumbrances; and as far as this idea obtains, it ought to have a good effect, for this is one way of obtaining the means of paying off our debt.

"At all events, the illusion (if it be such) must be destroyed sooner or later, unless we can suppose that the Court of Directors will send out to Bengal in the ensuing year 1802-3 about

80,00,000 rupees, and in 1803-4 about 1,50,00,000; and I confess I am not quite sanguine enough to entertain such an expectation. These sums are the estimated deficiency of the two years, including debt to be paid off; and if the amount be not supplied from England, it must be raised here by means of new loans.

"Allowing for the receipt of a moderate supply of bullion from England in 1802-3 (say thirty or forty lakhs, which I think they are likely to send), it certainly might be practicable to get through that year without a new loan by extending the issue of Treasury-bills; but I confess I do not feel much disposition myself to make this experiment, and we should, perhaps, lose the opportunity of transferring the twelve-per-cent. loan, which must be very embarrassing to us in 1803-4 if it be not previously disposed of.

"To avoid any appearance of *empressement,* it occurs to me on reflection that it will be better to postpone the publication of the advertisement till Thursday next. This delay cannot make much difference, and it will allow you time to give the measure any further consideration which may be necessary.

"I am, &c., &c.,
(Signed) "H. St.G. Tucker."

Five days afterwards the advertisement for the new eight-per-cent. loan was published in the Gazette. It produced about seventy-five lakhs of rupees. "The loan has succeeded indifferently well," wrote Mr. Tucker to Mr. Lumsden, the Chief Secretary, in the following July, "although not so well as I had expected, and certainly not so well as it would have succeeded, if various contingent circumstances had not reduced our Treasury to a very low state.* The subscriptions of which we have an account

* In another letter to Mr. Lumsden these circumstances are glanced at,

amount to seventy lakhs, and when the remaining accounts come in, the total subscription will, I think, be about seventy-five lakhs. Our credit continues good, notwithstanding the poverty of our Treasury."

I must refrain from entering into these financial details with a minuteness which might weary the reader. It is enough that it should be shown how in these years, 1801 and 1802, the efforts of Mr. Tucker, sanctioned and supported as they were by Mr. Barlow and Lord Wellesley, were attended with results which needed only the continuance of peace to render them permanently beneficial to the country. Public credit was then first established; the rate of interest on public securities was then first reduced. The exchanges were so regulated as to save to the State the ruinous brokerage of the native shroffs and bankers, and the premium on silver extorted by these capitalists was no longer paid, for our own treasuries were well supplied. Indeed, before the middle of 1802, the Accountant-General was able to furnish it to the Calcutta mer-

and the difficulties with which Mr. Tucker had to contend briefly described. "The loan has succeeded, but not to the full extent which I had expected, owing to circumstances which I have already explained to you. The Amboyna and the Madras bills were the principal cause of my embarrassment, and the low state of the Treasury I have every reason to believe prevented the natives from subscribing. In consequence of my being obliged to issue so many Treasury-bills, the whole of the Salt Revenue has been paid in these bills. In the present month I have not, I believe, received 10,000 rupees in cash out of 100 lakhs. I have also been most unexpectedly disappointed in some revenue remittances, which will prevent me from making any immediate advances for the investment at the factories in the neighbourhood of the Presidency, and which may even prevent me from paying the military at the appointed time. I have, however, taken every possible precaution to escape such a contingency."

chants.* And funds were provided for an Investment to the extent of eighty or ninety lakhs of rupees.†

By Lord Wellesley this vast improvement in the financial condition of the country was regarded with the liveliest satisfaction. "I sincerely congratulate you," he wrote, on the 7th of June, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, "on the improved state of your finances. . . . . It will be a satisfaction to you to receive from me, in addition to the pledge of my public character, this private assurance that the finances of the Company in India are now in a most flourishing state—that they will further improve not only with rapidity, but on such a durable basis as to ensure the success of a comprehensive plan for the reduction of the debt—and that the more minute and detailed any investigation of the

* See letter of Mr. Tucker (June 6, 1802) to Messrs. Fairlie and Co., Colvin and Co., Cockerell and Co., &c., &c. "As I understand that within a few days a high batta has been exacted on gold mohurs, I propose that you send any gold which you may have to-morrow to the general Treasury, where it will be exchanged for silver to the extent at least of 25,000 rupees from each house."

† On the 8th of July Mr. Tucker wrote to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Lumsden: "We had actually advanced on the 30th of June about forty lakhs for the investment, and I hope we shall be able to advance forty lakhs more in time for the ships of the present season. Next year his Lordship may, I think, with safety promise a full investment both from Bengal and Madras." And two days afterwards he again wrote, in reply to a letter from Mr. Lumsden: "I never gave any absolute assurance that it would be practicable to provide an investment of ninety lakhs, nor do I now say that it is absolutely impracticable. I am afraid, however, that it will not be possible to provide the funds in proper time. The provision of an investment on this scale depended upon several contingencies—the early arrival of money from England—the practicability of drawing funds from Lucknow, and the success of the loan." Mr. Tucker was of opinion that in calling for so large an investment the resources of the Treasury were injudiciously strained. "If," he wrote, "we begin to run before we are able to walk, it will not be difficult to anticipate the consequences."

probable revenues and charges of the Company shall be, the more manifestly will be demonstrated the stability of your credit and the extent and solidity of your resources." On the 5th of August, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, who then presided at the India Board: "Your Lordship will rejoice with me in the prosperous state of the finances of India exhibited by the accompanying statements; 1803-4 will certainly prove a year of unexampled prosperity. Every branch of the Revenue promises improvement. The civil charges will not be augmented, and the military charges may possibly be diminished." And, again, a week afterwards he addressed, in the same exulting strain, the Chairman of the Company: "Lord Dartmouth, at my desire, will give you copies of statements of accounts, which will prove to you that the finances in India are already restored. This was the great object of my pursuit; and I trust it will prove an honorable termination of my government."

An honorable termination of Lord Wellesley's government it was not. The seed of great events, which were to turn all this prosperity and order into ruin and confusion, had already been sown broad-cast along the North-Western frontier of India. The good work which Mr. Tucker had done was soon to be undone; for the reign of Peace was at an end. But it seemed to him that already had his mission been so far fulfilled that he might, without injury to the State, resign his office, and hand over the charge of the Public Finances to his successor.

For with the new year had come other plans and projects, and Mr. Tucker bethought himself of taking an important step affecting his whole after-career. "If you knew how much I am harassed at present," he wrote to his sister on the 2nd of February, "by a variety of business, you would not expect to have a letter to acknowledge from me—I must, however, say a word or two, as so very material a change has of late taken place in my situation and future plans of life. I am sure you expect now to hear that I am going to be married; but this is not at all the case. I am much further removed from any such contingency than I ever was, perhaps, at any time of my life. I am, however, about to resign my office, and to accept the situation of senior member of a house of business here—Cockerell, Trail, Palmer, and Co. The change is not altogether agreeable to me, but I determined upon it principally with a view to enable my friend, Mr. Palmer, to return to England—a measure which the state of his health rendered absolutely necessary, and which he could not accomplish by any other means. I gain nothing in point of income; and the only advantage which the arrangement holds out to me is, the prospect of being admitted a partner into the House at home (Paxtons, Cockerell, and Co.). In this case, I shall probably be enabled to retire to England three or four years hence—never more to return to this detested country. In the mean time, I must be content to give up the idea of paying you a visit next year, and this to me is the most unpleasant

consequence of the arrangement. I had so long flattered myself with the idea of a thousand gratifications from this visit, that I cannot abandon it without a very painful sensation—I must, however, submit to fate."

In this passage there is a comprehensive narration of all the circumstances under which Mr. Tucker was induced to declare his intention of retiring from official life and again trying his fortune as a private merchant. But these circumstances are more fully set forth in the correspondence which a short time before had taken place between the Accountant-General and the leading members of Palmer's House. In the following Memorandum, drawn up at the commencement of the year, we see the

"*Conditions on which Mr. Tucker would engage to become a Member of the House of Messrs. Cockerell, Trail, Palmer, and Co.*

"I would engage to become a member of the House on the 1st January next, on either of the following plans:

"1st. If Palmer should choose to go home, I would engage to remain in his place for three years, from the 1st January, 1804, provided I were admitted at the same time a member of the House at home. I would not on any consideration remain in the country beyond the term of three years; and on retiring to the House at home, I should be very well disposed to become an active partner. My only *personal* motive for forming the connexion here would be, this option of retiring at an early period; for if I were disposed to continue in the Company's service for six or seven years, I must, in the common course of events, acquire an independent fortune on easier terms.

"2ndly. If Palmer should not wish to retire next year, I would go home in January next, and would engage to return in

two years and a half (or even eighteen months if he wished it), and would continue in the House for five years from the period of my return, or of his retirement. I should expect, however, as in the former case, to become a member of the House at home on his retirement.

"If I should go home, I should expect no emolument from the House during my absence; or at least, a very trifling share would satisfy me.

"I can form no idea of the probable income of a senior member of the House; but I conclude it cannot be much inferior to the income which I should be likely to receive in the Service, and if it were nearly equal to it, I should be perfectly well satisfied. At all events, there would be no difficulty with me on this head, for my great object is the situation at home. It is almost impossible that I should obtain from the House here, what I may reasonably expect in a few years from the Service.

"In either case, it would not be necessary to change the firm of the House, nor should I wish it."

Mr. Palmer was at this time at the mouth of the river seeking such benefit to his health as was to be found in the temporary refreshment of the sea-air. Eager was he to know the result of the negotiations, which he hoped would enable him to re-establish his health and recruit his exhausted energies by a return to his native country. His letters to Mr. Tucker are written under great depression of spirit. They exhibit the magnitude of the service which the Accountant-General was about to render to his friend:

"FROM JOHN PALMER, ESQ.

"Kedgeree, 15th January, 1803.

"MY DEAR TUCKER,— . . . I thank you for the trouble you have bestowed on my concerns. I shall patiently await this day's post to learn the result of your conversation with Logan, and which I doubt not will be satisfactory to us both,

or at least to me; for, excepting the state of your health, I do not see a single objection which can be reasonably urged to a connexion with you, and to my retreat. The acquisition will be wholly in favor of the House. . . . Had the idea of retiring not been urged to me, probably I should not have dreamt of it, until sinking under a condition of health and spirits no longer susceptible of any relief from a change; but in the now state and frame of my mind, I look to it as a man does to Death for Salvation, not desirable or even tolerable in itself, but relatively. I shall never be without care until I am in the bosom of all my children, and the longer this blessing is postponed, the greater will be my infirmities, and the more precarious my chance of recovering from them. I feel a sort of secret horror in every reflection connected with Calcutta; and could I now proceed direct to England, I surely never would revisit it. Still, my dear H., do not imagine that if I am compelled to pass a longer period in Bengal, that I shall not use every rational effort to rouse myself from the species of stupefaction into which I have recently fallen; and although it may occasionally return upon me, yet I feel that it can only be temporarily and gradually with less force. I have recovered my appetite, and sleep as well as usual, and I cannot be happier than in the tranquillity of my family society. . . .

"Yours affectionately,

"J. PALMER."

"FROM JOHN PALMER, ESQ.

"Kedgeree, 16th January, 1803.

"MY DEAR T.,—As I purpose moving to Saugor with to-morrow's dawn, I leave a line in acknowledgment of your letter of yesterday. My inference relative to Logan is confirmed, and I am relieved from considerable uneasiness, or at least suspense, by the arrangement which has been formed. Go I will; but if I cannot bear the thought of parting with my father and family without a pang of the acutest kind, still I hope it may not expose me to a return of any other affliction. I alone know the positive necessity for my departure, and this must support me through the trial I have to make of a

premature and painful separation from the dearest interests my heart ever knew. Say all that occurs to you for me to Logan, Binny, and Caulfield. I cannot address either of them immediately. It is superfluous to say much to you. I know your heart sufficiently to be satisfied of the generosity of your proceedings; and in leaving everything to you, I was in fact taking a more effectual care of my own interests (which, however, have never occupied my thoughts) than I could myself.

"I am not so well to-day. I had, indeed, a very indifferent night's rest—or rather none at all, and my spirits have possibly been exhausted by my letters to England. . . .

"Yours affectionately,

"J. Palmer."

What were the negotiations with his partners to which reference is made in these passages, and what was the result, may be gathered from the following correspondence. It appears to me to be very honorable to all parties concerned. It indicates the liberality with which, on both sides, the partnership was entered into—the desire of the old members of the House to render the terms of the association advantageous to Mr. Tucker, and his reluctance to avail himself of the full advantages of the terms offered by his friends. His first wish was to render a service to Mr. Palmer, with whom he had been connected in business some years before, and in closest friendship ever since. Beyond this he looked only to the prospect of a speedier return to England, and to the renewal of his intercourse with the members of his family. His affection for them had been continually testified by acts of substantial kindness, and his heart had never ceased to yearn for the pleasure of listening to their dear voices again. He sought for

no immediate gain—for no accession of income. The rules of the Service were not in those days as stringent as they have since been rendered by wise provisions of the Government. In the opinion, perhaps, of those who are acquainted only with the present order of things, nothing stranger will be found in this biography than the record of the fact, that Mr. Tucker was at the same time Accountant-General and a leading member of a House of Business. In this two-fold capacity he remained for about a year. I shall enter, presently, with more fulness of detail into the circumstances of this combination. It is expedient, however, to preface such remarks with the correspondence to which allusion has been made:

"FROM WM. LOGAN, ESQ.

"14th January, 1803.

"DEAR TUCKER,—I had every desire to write you yesterday according to my promise, but could not accomplish it.

"You may be aware, that in concerns of such magnitude there must be many points requiring further discussion; but I readily agree in opinion with Palmer that you are eminently qualified, beyond any person within my knowledge, to supply his place; and with every consideration I have yet given the subject, there is no hesitation on my part in offering an opinion that an arrangement may be effected, by reductions from the shares of some of the partners, by which you might be assured the sum mentioned by you as requisite to induce the change, independent of any other motives that may operate with you. Indeed, I should hope a considerable addition may be made to it, as far as I can judge of the advantages expected to result from the late junction of our establishments, and which are more likely to increase than diminish. You have many objects for your own consideration, and will naturally do so. With re-

gard to any future introduction to the business of the London House, I could only offer an opinion.

"I regret much that the period fixed by us for our intended return to England should be the same; but many alterations may take place during that time. For my part, I apprehend that a residence here already of twenty years, and continued application to business, with a constancy seldom equalled during that time, will render my return, about the end of three years more, so desirable as not to be avoided, but under the most pressing and serious considerations.

"Binny and Caulfield have perused, and approve of this.

"Yours sincerely,

"Wm. Logan."

"FROM H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"Dear Logan,—Your note is very flattering to me, and as far as my interests and situation are adverted to, it holds out a prospect of more than I am disposed either to stipulate for or to receive. I have stated to you and Palmer distinctly that I shall be content to receive an income equal to the income of my present office—that I will remain here for three or four years (barring accidents), or until Palmer can return, or until you can form some better arrangement in concert with the partners at home. The quantum of income is not my great object. My immediate object is to enable Palmer to leave the country; and my more remote view is to obtain an introduction into the House at home. I do not, however, pretend to require any engagement on the part of the House here on this subject, because it is evident that they cannot make such an engagement. I leave it to future contingencies, reserving only the claim which my situation in the House may be supposed to give me upon any subsequent arrangement.

"With respect to Palmer, he, I am persuaded, will be satisfied with anything which you can propose; or if he object at all, it would be to an arrangement in which every sacrifice might not be made by himself exclusively. This disposition on his part will, however, be resisted, I hope.

"Under other circumstances, if I engaged at all in a concern of such magnitude (which I should be little disposed to do), I should undoubtedly deem it necessary to give the subject a very serious consideration, and to make much previous inquiry; but in the present instance I rely on the characters of those with whom I offer to connect myself; and I feel so august a necessity for immediate decision, that a more deliberate proceeding is in some measure precluded. With respect to what I relinquish, and other personal considerations, I have already made up my mind on grounds which, with me, are conclusive.

"In regard to the period of our retiring to England, I should hope that we shall be mutually disposed to consult, as far as possible, the interests and inclinations of each other, as well as the general interests of those connected with us.

"Although you have not pointed out any specific basis of an arrangement, I should consider everything so far settled as to communicate my intentions immediately to Lord Wellesley, if I were satisfied that an arrangement was practicable, desirable, and personally agreeable to you. If you can give me such an assurance, do so. If we cannot meet on terms perfectly satisfactory to all parties, it certainly cannot be the interest of any that we should meet at all. I myself would not form such a connexion if I thought we should not meet on the most cordial terms; and I am sure Palmer would not, under any circumstances, propose or consent to an arrangement which he thought could be objectionable to any individual concerned.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"William Logan, Esq."

"FROM H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"January 15, 1803.

"DEAR CAULFIELD,—In order to remove all doubts from Logan's mind, you may, if you think proper, declare to him on my part, that it was never my intention or wish to interfere with the arrangement subsisting between Palmer and himself. Until some more permanent arrangement can be

adopted, I shall consider Palmer in the situation of the head resident partner; and as such, he is of course at liberty to assign the emoluments of his situation to any person he pleases. It is a matter of private accommodation in which I have no concern; and I repeat, that I have no wish whatever to disturb the present order of things, as explained to me by Palmer.

"If, after this explanation from me, Logan should find any difficulty in making an explicit declaration of his sentiments, I shall consider everything at an end between us, and shall immediately write to Palmer, recommending him to adopt one or other of the following alternatives.

"To go home this season, leaving Logan at the head of the House, and me, in concert with some other friends, to attend to his private interests and concerns; or,—

"To allow us to take a passage for him to Bombay, or other distant port, adopting such measures as may appear to him expedient (by communicating with the partners at home, or otherwise), preparatory to his going home in the ensuing season.

"I should have given Logan a more particular explanation in my note of yesterday, had I conceived it possible that he could suspect an intention on my part to interfere with his emoluments, when I expressly declared that I was content to receive the same limited income which I now enjoy in the Company's service.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"To J. Caulfield, Esq."

"FROM WM. LOGAN, ESQ.

"15th January, 1803.

"My dear Tucker,—Binny was gone from the office before I received your note of yesterday, but it has since been shown to him and Caulfield, and we agree in thinking the proposed arrangement is not only practicable, but very desirable; and, as for myself, it is most certainly perfectly agreeable.

"I pointed out no basis for the arrangement, but, as you wish it, would propose that, on your admission taking place, an allow-

ance, say of 4000 Sicca rupees per month, be made you to the 30th April next, when the accounts and other material objects may be settled; and that afterwards, for the period you mention, under the reservations, and which I wish could also be extended to me, you either draw from the business a certain income, fully equal or rather more than you at present hold, or by partaking of a certain proportion of the profits of the House (say 5-24ths), at your option; the latter proposition would, I trust, be most beneficial to you, and certainly more consistent with my wishes.

"Yours sincerely,

"Wm. Logan.

"To Henry St.G. Tucker, Esq."

"FROM H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"15th January, 1803.

"Dear Logan,—Your proposal is extremely liberal, and I have only to suggest a slight modification of the terms.

"I shall probably not be called upon to resign my present situation before the 30th April; and, while I hold it, I neither could nor would receive any income whatever from the House. If I should find it necessary to resign it at an earlier period, I shall be quite content with the income I now enjoy (3448 rupees per month, including house-rent and servants).

"After the 30th April, or my resignation, I shall be perfectly well satisfied with 4-24ths, or the income you propose (4000 rupees per month), for the term of my residence in the country, which I would not engage should exceed three, or at the utmost four years, from the present time. I should myself prefer the fixed income; but I consider the alternative a matter of little moment, and I willingly leave it to be determined by the House.

"I am content that the claims of either or both of us to an introduction into the House in London, should be determined (where alone they can be determined) by the parties interested at home; and I never had any intention or wish to disturb the arrangement subsisting between Palmer and yourself. On this subject I have made an explicit declaration to Caulfield.

"Should I find it impracticable to obtain hereafter an esta-

blishment in the House in London, I should wish, on returning to England, to retain an interest in the House here for a given term (say, 2-24ths or 3-24ths for three years), because I cannot possibly acquire in so short a period as three or four years such an independence as would enable me to retire altogether.

"If these terms be satisfactory to Binny, Caulfield, and yourself, let us consider the business settled, as far as my interests are concerned, without further discussion. If it be judged preferable that I should receive a proportion of the profits rather than a fixed income (to which, by-the-by, there may be objections), I will not accept a larger share than 4-24ths, and it will be much more agreeable to me if you proceed at once upon the ground of this determination on my part, for I have communicated it to Palmer, and I will not, on any account, recede from it.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"FROM J. CAULFIELD, ESQ.

"15th January, 1803.

"Dear Tucker,—I am glad Logan's note was satisfactory to you, and have no doubt of an immediate arrangement being the consequence equally so to all of us. With respect to the provisions in the deed, your younger partners receiving an increase on Palmer's departure, I can only observe that was not to take place for three years; therefore, until the expiration of such period, any intermediate arrangement cannot affect them. Logan's arrangement or proposition will be, as I suppose, thus—

H. Trail . .	3-24
J. Palmer .	3-24
H. Tucker .	5-24
Wm. Logan	5-24
A. Binny J. Caulfield G. Simpson	8-24

and this has my sincere approbation, as being equitable and just.

"Yours ever truly,

"J. Caulfield."

"FROM WM. LOGAN.

"15th January, 1803.

"DEAR TUCKER,—I have received your note of this date with the modification proposed by you, which I readily acquiesce in; but Binny, Caulfield, and myself, still wish that your interest might be 5-24ths of the general advantages of the business, as more proportionate to the situation you will hold in the establishment; and with the option of retaining a part of it, as stated by you, in the event of your returning to Great Britain, with or without having a participation in the London House.

"Yours sincerely,

"WM. LOGAN."

There were many circumstances which rendered the step which Mr. Tucker was now about to take extremely painful to him; and the most distressing of all was the manifest displeasure of Lord Wellesley. The Governor-General received his proposal to retire from official life with strong expressions of disapprobation. "Why, Mr. Tucker," he said, "if you throw up your appointment and enter into a commercial connexion, it rests with me to determine whether or not you shall be permitted to remain in the Service." To this Mr. Tucker replied, that he was most unwilling in any way to embarrass the Government, and that if his sudden resignation of the Accountant-Generalship would occasion any public inconvenience, he would cheerfully consent to remain in charge of the Finances until satisfactory arrangements could be made for their transfer to other hands—but that he could not recede from the promise which he had made to Mr. Palmer, whose health, perhaps his very life, was at stake.

The offer was accepted. The compromise was made. It was not easy, in that conjuncture, to find a Finance Minister to fill Mr. Tucker's place. It was arranged, therefore, that he should continue, for a while, to officiate as Accountant-General, whilst acting, at the same time, as senior member of the mercantile house. During fifteen months he continued, with unwearying perseverance, and with a close attention to business, which afforded him little or no time for recreation or exercise, to perform the duties both of his public and private situation, and there was no complaint that the interests of either suffered by the junction. But although Mr. Tucker acted indefatigably in both capacities, he received only the emoluments attached to one office. So long as he was Accountant-General of Bengal he rejected the profits of the commercial partnership. He drew only his official salary.

These circumstances stand recorded in the public correspondence of the Supreme Government. In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 13th of January, 1804, they are thus officially detailed :

"Dated, 13th January, 1804.

"The Accountant-General, Mr. Henry St.George Tucker, having lately become a partner in a private house of business in Calcutta, addressed a letter to the Governor-General in Council, explanatory of the terms and circumstances under which he had entered into the partnership, and submitting to the consideration of his Excellency in Council how far, under the particular circumstances attending his present situation, it might be compatible with the rules of the Service for Mr. Tucker to retain the station of Accountant-General.

"With a view to his continuance in the office of Accountant-General while his services in that station might be required, and in order to obviate as far as possible every objection originating from the circumstance of his having a private interest, which might be supposed to be likely to influence his public conduct, Mr. Tucker had made it a condition of the engagement into which he had entered with the House of Messrs. Cockerell, Trail, Palmer, and Co., that he should not receive any share in the profits of the House so long as he should continue to hold the office of Accountant-General.

"The knowledge and experience of Mr. Tucker in measures of finance, and his strict integrity, had recommended him to the choice of the Governor-General in Council for the office of Accountant-General, and his services in that situation could not immediately be dispensed with, without the most serious public inconvenience, and without certain and immediate injury to the public service, and to the highly important measures of finance at that time in progress. Under these considerations, and adverting to the conditions on which Mr. Tucker had become a partner in the house of Cockerell and Co., the Governor-General in Council has permitted Mr. Tucker to retain the office of Accountant-General, until the 30th of April next, at which period of time Mr. Tucker is to make his election, either to relinquish his concern in the house of Cockerell and Co., or to resign the office of Accountant-General."

The year 1803, indeed, was a busy one; and the duties of the Accountant-Generalship, though the state of the finances had been greatly improved by the good husbandry of the preceding years, were still both difficult and onerous. A war had been commenced on our North-Western frontier, the end of which it was difficult to foresee. It is not at the commencement of a war that its financial evils are apparent; and as there was money at this time in the Treasury, and public credit had been established,

the gigantic embarrassments which at a subsequent period almost overwhelmed the Government were then only in the germ. Still, as money for the movement of our armies was to be found, and an investment on an unusually large scale was to be provided, there was much need for all the forethought and sagacity of a skilful Finance Minister. To Mr. Tucker, who had been anticipating, with the deepest interest, the happy results of a season of continued peace, this war-making was a great disappointment. But he looked the matter cheerfully in the face, and believed that we should weather the storm. "It is impossible," he wrote to the Chief Secretary, his friend Mr. Lumsden, "to say with any kind of certainty what can be done during a period of actual war; but if the Government at home perform their promises, and our operations against the Mahrattas, &c., be not attended with any very extraordinary expense, we shall, I hope, hold our ground at the least. Had peace continued only three years longer, with the assistance proposed to be furnished from England, we should, I am persuaded, have been able to put the Public Debt into a very manageable state, and to have effected a complete revolution in the rate of interest, &c., &c." And again, a little later, writing to the same excellent public servant, he said: "If in the face of a war both in India and in Europe, it be practicable to provide a full investment—to pay off a large debt—and to meet a disbursement, such as that of the present month (at least eighty lakhs at the General

Treasury alone)—if this can be done with so slight a diminution of credit, more will have been done, I think, than might have been expected."

In another letter, written in October, Mr. Tucker comments forcibly on the difficulties which he had to encounter. "His Lordship," he wrote to Mr. Lumsden, "I believe, is fully aware of the difficulties we have had to surmount, and it will not be a matter of surprise that some little inconvenience should be experienced in particular quarters, as it is not possible to provide equally well on all sides against sudden demands. The demand upon our resources at this moment is far greater than I have ever known it at any former period; and we shall do well if we get over it after a little stumbling. My attention has been principally directed to the army and the General Treasury, for I know that any failure in these quarters might be fatal; but I have paid every attention in my power to the other parts of service. The state of every treasury in the country is constantly before my eyes, and if any particular treasury be not supplied, it is because the means are actually wanting."

In the following letter are briefly sketched Mr. Tucker's arrangements for the financial supply of the army in the field, which, as he said, was one of the two main objects of his thoughts:*

* Of the other—the paramount necessity of keeping the General Treasury well supplied—Mr. Tucker has descanted in a paper of Instructions, which he drew up for his successor, and in which he says: "It is particularly necessary to keep the General Treasury well supplied, for here our credit takes its character. This should be done although the public service may suffer in

"TO J. LUMSDEN, ESQ.

"16th August, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It would be advisable, I think, to collect as large a sum as possible in the first instance at Headquarters, and after the army moves, the Commander-in-Chief should be authorised to draw on the different treasuries, and to order the collectors, if necessary, to remit in specie. The bankers being all established at Lucknow, the Commander-in-Chief will probably find it more easy to negotiate bills on that treasury, and the Resident may, indeed, be enabled to make an arrangement with the bankers for the supply of the army. Colonel Scott is quite a man of business, and I do not know any person to whom an arrangement of the kind could be so safely entrusted. In the mean time, the collectors of Moradabad and Bareilly should be directed to remit their unappropriated balance immediately to Lucknow or Khanpore, either by bills or in specie, as one or other of these remittances may be the more advantageous. We have funds at these stations, and they are, I presume, out of the way of the probable movement of the army. I had intended to direct the collectors to remit, but an order from Government may have more effect. I cannot tell what the expenses of the army are likely to be, but I am afraid we shall be much at a loss for funds during the ensuing three months.

"The Commander-in-Chief may be authorised to draw on the Presidency, provided he can obtain 102 or 101 Lucknow rupees per Company's Calcutta Sicca rupees.

"Yours very sincerely,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER."

But whilst all these arrangements were being carried out, under Mr. Tucker's presiding control,

consequence, in other quarters. It is a vital part, and any accident here is fatal. A failure at the provincial treasuries has no consequences. It is not regarded, and everything may be set right again without any derangement being produced. The supply of the General Treasury, I repeat, is the very first object to be attended to."

for the supply of the army on the banks of the Jumna, on the banks of the Hooghly the Accountant-General was providing funds for an investment on a large scale, and at the same time paying off old debts, the interest of which had long been a serious incumbrance. To sum up the financial history of the year, in the words of a cotemporary memorandum:

"A supply to an unprecedented extent was furnished from Bengal to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. An investment on the highest standard was provided. A debt, bearing an interest of 12 per cent. per annum, to the amount of 60,00,000 rupees, was punctually discharged; and the funds required for these various services were raised at a very reduced and moderate rate of interest.

"Of the amount raised within the year, the sum of Sicca rupees 1,58,65,500 was borrowed at an interest of less than 8 per cent. per annum; and a supply, to the extent of Sicca rupees 45,31,700, was obtained by the issue of Treasury-bills, bearing an interest of less than 7 per cent. per annum, a rate of interest almost unknown in India. Nor should it be forgotten that this was accomplished not only while the existence of war with a formidable European Power rendered it necessary to maintain the military establishments throughout British India on an enlarged and expensive scale, but while the most extensive military operations were carrying on in various quarters of Hindostan,

against the principal chieftains of the Mahratta Empire. Although the existence of war, and other circumstances, have necessarily caused a large addition to be made to the Public Debt in India, and particularly at the Presidency of Fort William, from whence the deficiencies of the subordinate Governments are supplied—the charge of the debt at this Presidency has scarcely increased in any perceptible degree during the last three years—the loans made by the Supreme Government during that period having been raised, not only for the immediate supply of the public service, but also with the express view of discharging debts bearing a higher rate of interest. Had not an essential change been effected in the administration of Finance, the debt of the Honorable Company in India would at this moment have far exceeded its present amount, and would have borne an annual interest greatly exceeding the proportion which this charge at present bears to the capital of the debt."

And that these good results were attributable not to accidental causes, but to skilful management, is plainly demonstrable. In an official paper written in 1803, with immediate reference to the financial affairs of Bombay, Mr. Tucker says:

"The reduction of the rate of interest here has certainly not been accomplished, nor has it been in any manner facilitated by stagnation of trade. I do not believe, indeed, that the commerce of Calcutta was ever more extensive or more active than it is at present. Vast numbers of Portuguese and American ships have imported here this year, and are now about to sail with full cargoes; and an unusual quantity of tonnage will also

be required by individuals for consignments to London. Some judgment may be formed of the extent of the trade, from the business of the House of which I am a member. We shall ship at least 1000 tons of goods for London this season, after having effected very large sales here; and we should have had occasion to ship a still larger quantity, if the indigo crops had not been so unfavorable in the Western Provinces, and the late accounts from England had not discouraged the consignment of all the coarser assortments of piece goods, and particularly those of Oude, to the London market. . . . . .

"With respect to the comparative opulence, the immense capital, and flourishing condition of Bengal (all which, I am happy to say, may be fully admitted), I must observe, that if our present financial prosperity is to be ascribed solely to our capital and to our territorial resources, that capital and those resources must have been generated in the course of the last two or three years; because within that period we have experienced as great distress here as is at present experienced at Bombay. Less than three years ago, our twelve-per-cent. Treasury-bills were at a discount of from three to four per cent.; and the whole of our paper was much more depreciated in value than the paper of the Bombay Government is at present. At that time, we heard constantly of the poverty and distress of the Government; the want of commercial credit, &c. &c.; and what was the sign of this distress? The Government were issuing immense sums in Treasury-bills, bearing an interest of twelve per cent. per annum; and individuals were burdened with these bills, which they could not dispose of, but at a very great loss.

"Now we hear of the riches of the country, the prosperity of the Government, and of the credit of individuals; and what are the tokens of this favorable state of things? The Government are obliged to issue immense sums in Treasury-bills, and every person has his hands full of them. Is it not somewhat extraordinary that the same thing should in one instance be the sign of poverty and distress; and in the other, the symptom and the source of opulence and prosperity? I do

not believe that there is a larger amount of specie in Calcutta at present than there was three years ago; and if the capital of the country has increased (which it has, no doubt), the public debt has increased also. The Company have a greater surplus revenue in India; but they have not a greater disposable surplus in Bengal; because there is so large a debt to be paid off this year, and we have so large a supply to furnish the other Presidencies, in consequence of their finding it impracticable to borrow; that the resources of Bengal are as inadequate this year to the demands upon them as they perhaps have ever been at any antecedent period. The great change of circumstances is—*that the public have now confidence in the Government; and that we have obtained a convenient medium of exchange;* and the very debt of the Government, which, if unaccompanied by credit, would be the source and sign of general distress, is now what constitutes the capital—the wealth and prosperity of the community."

This was the great work which Mr. Tucker accomplished during his first tenure of office as Finance Minister. He had created and established Public Credit in India, and he had permanently reduced the rate of interest paid by the British-Indian Government on the money which it was compelled to borrow. At the commencement of the present century our twelve-per-cent. paper was at a discount; and now, at one-third of that interest, more money is obtainable by Government than it has need of, even in a season of war. And to the great disappointment of a public clamorous for such investments, a four-per-cent. loan is unexpectedly closed, because the Treasury is gorged.

CHAPTER V.

Retirement from Official Life—Government Testimonial—Mr. Tucker's Mercantile Life—Opinions of his Friends—Conduct of Lord Wellesley—Admiral Bergeret—His Friendship with Mr. Tucker—Departure of Lord Wellesley—Anecdotes of his Staff—Thoughts of Home.

On the 30th of April, 1804, Mr. Tucker's official and responsible connexion with the public Finances ceased for a time; and on the following day the Governor-General placed upon record a minute, acknowledging, in befitting terms, the great services which had been rendered to the State by the retiring Accountant-General:

"Fort William, May the 1st, 1804.

"The Governor-General, in accepting Mr. Tucker's resignation of the office of Accountant-General, considers it to be his duty to record the high sense which he entertains of the great and important public services rendered by Mr. Tucker, in the discharge of the functions of Accountant-General, during a crisis of considerable difficulty, and under circumstances of peculiar anxiety and embarrassment.

"The person holding the situation of Accountant-General at Fort William, must be considered as the principal officer of finance of the British Government in India, on the present extended scale of this empire. The labor and attention required in the preparation of the intricate and voluminous accounts of the

Presidency of Bengal, form only one branch of the public duty of that officer. It is the province of the Accountant-General of Bengal to observe with unremitting attention the state of public credit, and of financial management, in every part of the British Asiatic possessions, extending even to the state of affairs at Canton in China; to ascertain the circumstances by which the general finances of the Company in Asia may at any time be affected; and to suggest for the consideration of the supreme authority in India, such measures as shall appear to be calculated to improve or to confirm the credit of the public securities of Government, and to correct the administration of the finances at any of the British settlements in India.

"Mr. Tucker was appointed to the office of Accountant-General in the month of March, 1801; and it is a tribute of justice due to the merit of that valuable public officer, to declare that the Governor-General has derived the most useful and able assistance from Mr. Tucker's advice in the arrangement and execution of every important measure of finance adopted since that period of time.

"The success which has attended those measures has been uniform and extraordinary. During the two last years, the credit of the securities of this Government has been raised to a higher standard than at any period of time since the existence of a public debt in India; and although a considerable addition has necessarily been made to the amount of the public debt of the Presidency of Fort William, the annual interest of the present debt does not materially exceed the interest payable by Government on the public debt as it stood in the year 1801.

"The Governor-General is satisfied that the highest merit is to be attributed to Mr. Tucker, in carrying into effect the measures adopted by Government for the improvement of the administration of the finances of the Presidency of Fort William; and that the prudence, skill, diligence, and judgment manifested by Mr. Tucker in his public capacity as Accountant-General, have proved considerably useful in establishing the public credit of the Company in India on a solid and permanent

basis; the great zeal, industry, and integrity manifested by Mr. Tucker in the performance of his public duty, in every situation, have been uniform and exemplary. The Governor-General, therefore, records with great satisfaction his highest approbation of the merit and services of Mr. Tucker; and he entertains a confident persuasion that Mr. Tucker's services will be duly appreciated by the Honorable the Court of Directors.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

But although Mr. Tucker then ceased to be officially connected with the Government of India, his opinions were often invited, his advice was often sought, by public functionaries who knew the value of his counsel; and he was always ready to impart the benefit of his experience to his successor, and to record his views on great questions of Finance. It was not his fault—it was not his successor's fault—that a crisis was fast approaching, when the boasted financial prosperity of the empire was to be exploded into ruin and confusion.

In the mean while, Mr. Tucker applied himself diligently to the affairs of the great mercantile house of which he had become a member; and his associates had good reason to congratulate themselves on the alliance they had formed with so industrious a man of business and so skilful a financier. From Mr. Palmer he received many letters, full of the heartiest expressions of gratitude and commendation; and the hopes which they held out to him of the speedy completion of the arrangement which was to enable him, at an early period, to return to England, were not the least of the solaces of his life. Early in February, 1804, Mr. Palmer, in a letter which he

forwarded through the Egyptian Consul, sent assurances to his friend that the partners of the house at home—Messrs. Paxton, Cockerell, and Trail—had signed an agreement to the effect that if, on his (Mr. Palmer's) return to Bengal, circumstances should induce Mr. Tucker to proceed to England with the view of continuing his connexion with mercantile business, he should be admitted into the English house, in the same position, and with the same share of the business as that which would have been held by Mr. Palmer. And in the following July, alluding to this arrangement, the latter thus discourses in a long and most affectionate letter to his friend:

"In regard to yourself, I can only say that, if I may venture to hope for your approbation of my arrangement with P., C., and Co., I shall esteem it the happy means of requiting the sacrifices you are making to your friendship—but that, indeed, only partially, and in a very circumscribed degree. Your decided conduct in regard to the Service and our establishment in Calcutta, I calculate upon with more certainty than satisfaction, in as far as you are concerned; for I cannot disguise to myself the conviction of your loss by such a decision. And I can only hope that in the career open to you here, your wish to retire speedily will be profitably realised. I trust it will be your own fault if you are not in England in June, 1806; for though I am not so vain as to think I can maintain all the relations of the house with that propriety and firm character you do, yet I trust to support its respectability by walking in your course, and adhering to your system. I am determined to return in April or May next, provided I am not ill; and should such an accident prevent my moving, you shall be at liberty to provide for your retreat by taking into the house the man of your choice, even if you shall deem it necessary to place him

above the absent partners. The Service would supply several competent men desirous of engaging in such a line; but if it did not, I think you could be at no loss among another class of society."

One or two more passages from the same friendly letter may be given in this place:

"I have been astonished, in common with everybody here, to see you maintain the Company's credit so highly in a time of war; but after a knowledge of the real condition of their treasury, I ascribe the result to your skill in the black art—under the auspices always of the great sorcerer himself. Your recompense, however, will be most surely sought in your own cogitations on the subject; for a different species of illiberality distinguishes and characterises the ruling powers abroad and at home. There you will only forego the reputation of the thing. Here you will suffer the ordinary reward to slip your fingers; or rather, it will elude your grasp malgré your efforts. To keep up your spirits, however, by illustration against my opinion, I must mention that Fleming's merits have procured him 50,000 rupees.

"I saw Mr. Law twice whilst he was in England, and found him but little changed in appearance, though more in manner. He is more steady. He was too well bred to condemn your association with me; but I think he disapproved of it.

. . . . "As I went to town expressly to attend to your correspondence, you will naturally expect me to say something to it. I shall, however, confine myself to a general declaration that the clearness and precision with which every subject was treated—the arrangement, method, and order into which you have brought the various concerns of the house, &c., gave great satisfaction, and thoroughly predisposed the house to admire the line of conduct you have chalked out for your side of the world, in regard to your own interests and those of your constituents. I left Trail, therefore, to communicate the contents of your letters to me; and I was highly gratified to find a general sentiment of personal respect towards you, the result

of their knowledge of your plans and good management; I trust you will not have imposed too severe a labor on yourself, after you shall have relinquished your office; and that you will get through the remainder of your term of drudgery in it, without prejudice to your health. . . . .

"I am happy the business increases under your auspices, and doubt not of its further augmentation; and as I am very sure you will seek for the best connexions only, our security and prosperity will necessarily go together. And as you will have got rid of many others of a different complexion, or of a precarious nature, before I can get back, I shall trust to maintain the prudence and discretion of the principles you are establishing, without pain or trouble to myself or others."

That such a step as Mr. Tucker had taken should have been diversely regarded by different friends was natural—indeed necessary. To view the matter with plain mercantile eyes was one thing—to view it with official eyes was another. There were men, indeed, who looked upon it as a blunder, and others who saw it in the light of an offence; some shaking their heads in sorrow, others resenting it almost in anger. Among the former, it seems, was Mr. Tucker's first and best friend, Thomas Law. Among the latter was Lord Wellesley. Of the worldly wisdom of the act doubts may be fairly expressed. In this case, as it will presently appear, the experiment was not worked out to the result of ultimate success or failure; but seldom anything *but* failure has closed upon such experiments. It would be easy to multiply instances of men who have abandoned the fairest prospects of official advancement for a life of obscurity, poverty, and toil. They have made a fatal mistake, and are to be commiserated; but they are

not to be condemned. On Mr. Tucker, however, Lord Wellesley was inclined to pass something like condemnation. The Accountant-General had delivered over the public finances to his successor in a most flourishing condition, and had been officially eulogised by the Governor-General himself. But the approbation which descended upon the retiring Finance Minister in his public capacity, did not follow him into private life. The Governor-General marked his sense of Mr. Tucker's withdrawal from official life by ordering his name to be erased from the dinner-list of Government House.

To Mr. Tucker—who was as little of a lackey as any man that ever lived—this was probably no very severe visitation. The official stamp was gone from him, and with it his passport to the table of the Governor-General. But to that larger outer circle, who are summoned to the more heterogeneous evening gatherings at Government House, he was still admissible—if he would go. But he had not a thought of going. If he were not welcome at Court, there was nothing easier than to stay away. And he did stay away, until a circumstance occurred which brought him again as a welcome guest to the table of a man, who had really too much that was noble in his nature to harbour such petty resentments as these.

It happened that in 1804 there was a French prisoner in Fort William named Bergeret. He was a distinguished naval officer, with a brave heart that never failed him in war, and many very fine quali-

ties besides, which made him very loveable in peace. England's best sailors knew the man. They had tried the temper of his courage in the Western and the Eastern seas, and never found it wanting, though Fortune had turned disastrously against him, and victory was not within his grasp. In 1796, off the Lizzard, he had fought Edward Pellew—Lord Exmouth. The action is a memorable one in naval annals. Pellew commanded the *Indefatigable*, Bergeret the *Virginie*. The material advantage was on the side of the former, and the French frigate, with her mizen-mast and her main-top-mast shot away, yielded at last to the superior power of her assailant.* Respected by all men for his gallantry, but by none more than his captor, of whom for a while he was an honored guest, Bergeret lived for some time amongst us. Sir Sydney Smith was a prisoner at Havre, and the British Government sent the French officer on his parole to endeavor to exchange himself

* When Bergeret, deeply moved by his misfortune, asked to whom he had struck, and was told, "to Sir Edward Pellew," he exclaimed, "Oh, that is the most fortunate man that ever lived. He takes everything, and now he has taken the finest frigate in France."—See "Life of Edward Pellew, Lord Exmouth." The biographer says: "The *Virginie* was completely riddled. Some of the *Indefatigable's* shot had even gone through the sail-room and out at the opposite side of the ship. She had four feet water in her hold, and more than forty of her crew were killed and wounded. Yet she attempted to rake her opponent as she was shooting ahead, and had nearly succeeded in doing so. While the *Indefatigable* was reeving fresh braces, the other (British) frigates came up, having been enabled to make a shorter distance by the altered course of the combatants during the chase. On their approach, the *Virginie* fired a lee-gun, and hauled down her light; and being hailed by the *Concorde*, replied, 'We must surrender, there are too many of you. We strike to the frigate ahead.' A more brave and skilful resistance is scarcely afforded by the annals of the war; and the officer who thus defends his ship against a very superior force, may challenge more honor than would be claimed by the victor."—*Vide* "Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth," pp. 127, 128.

for the English admiral. The exchange was not effected; Bergeret returned to England; but when Smith escaped, the British Government, with a liberality that cannot be too highly appreciated, set the Frenchman at liberty without a condition or a stipulation. He was soon, therefore, afloat again. The peace saw him on the deck of a merchant-ship, the *Psyche*, which had formerly been a national frigate, and which, on the renewal of hostilities, was again fitted out as a ship of war. Then it was that fate brought him into the Eastern seas, again to be made a prisoner, and again to taste the hospitality of his old captors. For some time he cruised about the Bay of Bengal with good success; but one day in February, 1805, the *San Fiorenzo*, which had been sent in pursuit of him, came up with the *Psyche* off Vizagapatam and brought her to action. The conflict, which lasted for three hours and a half, was a gallant one. But the French vessel was no match for her opponent, and the *San Fiorenzo*, having almost entirely disabled the enemy, hauled off to repair her rigging. When she again presented herself to renew the contest, Bergeret, who had lost more than half his men, and whose vessel was so crippled that it could hardly be worked, struck his colors and surrendered. He was carried, a prisoner, to Calcutta, and confined in the Fort.

Then was it that he became acquainted with Mr. Tucker. What brought them first together I do not know—but I do know why, when they *were* brought together, they became attached to each

other. It was peculiarly a characteristic of the subject of this memoir to commiserate fallen greatness and gallantry in distress. He was above all national prejudice. He was not one in those days to hate a Frenchman, any more than nearly forty years afterwards he hated an Afghan. He knew that Bergeret was a brave and an unfortunate man—and that was enough for him. There was sympathy on one side; there was gratitude on the other; and there were many points of resemblance between them. So it happened that a close intimacy grew up between the British merchant and the French admiral, and a constant reciprocation of kindness—if that can be called reciprocity where all the *active* benevolence is necessarily on one side. All that Mr. Tucker could do to lighten the sorrows of this brave man's captivity was done by him at this time. His liberality, indeed, was restricted only by the Government orders which compelled Bergeret to reside in the Fort. But for this his friend would have made him, as he yearned to do, a cherished inmate of his own house.

Of Bergeret Lord Wellesley knew nothing. Circumstances had not made him acquainted with the antecedents of his distinguished prisoner. And Mr. Tucker, still believing that he suffered under the displeasure of the Governor-General, did not feel that he was in a position personally to plead the cause of his friend. But one day in the course of conversation on the incidents of the French sailor's eventful life, Bergeret produced a letter from Sir

Edward Pellew, alluding to their former intercourse, and speaking of the gallantry of his old opponent—the commander of the *Virginie*. On reading it, Mr. Tucker recommended his friend to show it to the Town-Major. He believed that through this channel its contents would be sure to reach the Governor-General, and he was convinced that Lord Wellesley would delight in doing honor to a prisoner of such repute. Nor was he mistaken. The intelligence soon reached Government House, and from it there came an invitation to Bergeret to dine with the Governor-General. A party was invited to do him honor; and an especial invitation, "to meet his friend the Admiral,"* was sent to Mr. Tucker, by the hands of the captain of the Body-guard. From that time the intercourse between Lord Wellesley and his old Finance Minister was resumed—but the reign of the former was now fast drawing to a close.

It was, indeed, soon after the occurrence of the incident I have just narrated, that it fell to Mr. Tucker's lot to communicate to Lord Wellesley the first tidings of the appointment of his successor. It was no uncommon thing, in those days, in India,

* Admiral Bergeret is still living. He was created a Peer of France under the Orleans Government, but, after the flight of Louis Philippe, sunk (or ascended) again into "Monsieur l'Amiral." He still cherishes a most grateful recollection of the old kindness of Mr. Tucker, and nothing delights him more than to discourse, in his Parisian home in the Rue de Provence, where the fine old veteran spends the winter of his days, of the benefits which he received, nearly half a century ago, when a stranger and a captive in a foreign land, from one, the only claim to whose friendly assistance was his gallantry and his misfortunes.

as well as in Europe, for the great mercantile houses to anticipate the Government in the receipt of important intelligence; and it happened that in the month of May, 1805, two letters were received in Calcutta, by the overland route, announcing the re-appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the Governor-Generalship of India. One of these letters was received by Mr. James Alexander, the other by Mr. Tucker. Both gentlemen determined to keep their information to themselves; but a rumor was soon in circulation to the effect that overland letters had been received in Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley sent for Mr. Tucker. After holding him in conversation for half an hour, on different topics, especially on finance, the Governor-General exclaimed, "I hear you have received letters from England." Mr. Tucker assented, and Lord Wellesley asked, "Do they contain any news of importance?" "Of that," replied Mr. Tucker, "which I suppose has been done at the suggestion of your Lordship—the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as your successor." The Governor-General said nothing; but his looks conveyed, in a most expressive manner, his full sense of the significance of such an appointment.

Often, in after-days, was Mr. Tucker wont to speak of his connexion with the Government of Lord Wellesley and the character of that distinguished nobleman, varying his discourse with personal anecdotes of his Lordship and his Staff. Some of these he noted down for the amusement of his family; but there are doubtless beyond that circle

some to whom a specimen of these early reminiscences will be acceptable amidst the grave matters of Finance to which these early chapters are necessarily devoted.

I give the following in Mr. Tucker's own words, under the title which he affixed to it:

"THE BEAUTIFUL BOOTS.

"When Lord Wellesley was proceeding to the Western Provinces (I think in 1801), he was received in great state by the Newaub of Moorshedabad.

"In his Lordship's brilliant suite were to be found the Persian translator, Mr. E——; and among many others, an A.D.C., to whom the following couplet was applied by a lady on another occasion:

'Thus much we may say of our good friend C——,
That his name spells the same both forward and back.'

"He was of an elegant person: he danced delightfully (and so he does still); and, above all, he was remarkable for the exquisite finish of his boots. In truth, he could show a leg with any man.

"Upon this little hint, our friend E—— composed an eloquent epistle from the Newaub to the A.D.C., expatiating in terms of ecstasy on the beauty and elegance of his boots; declaring that they were fit to adorn the leg of the hero Roostum, or of that other hero, the wonderful Zàal, who was nursed by a Phœnix on the celebrated mountain Ulboorz; imploring the A.D.C. to say in what part of the world such boots were to be found, and whether the universe contained a second pair.

"The A.D.C. not knowing a word of Persian, flew to his friend, the translator, with a silken khureeta in his hand, and entreating to be made acquainted with its portentous contents.

"No person could execute the translation better than the author of the original composition; and it was forthwith transfused into English, to the infinite delight of the admiring A.D.C.

"A most respectful and gracious reply was immediately dic-

tated. Nothing could exceed the pleasure, the gratitude, and pride of one to whom such a condescension had been shown; and it would be the business of his life to manifest his devotion to his Highness, by laying at his feet, at the earliest possible period, a similar pair of boots!!

"But the course of love does not always run smoothly; and even boots may sometimes encounter a stone. An officious wag dispelled the bright hopes which were beginning to dazzle the eye of the aspiring A.D.C. He was told that strange rumors were abroad—that it was surmised he was carrying on a clandestine correspondence with a native Prince, contrary to law—that this offence would subject him to the penalty of a præmunire—and that the least he had to expect was dismissal from the Service, with or without a court-martial.

"At this astounding intelligence, he hastened to take counsel of his friend E——. Many wry faces were made—many doubts and apprehensions were intimated; but finally, it was agreed that he should throw himself upon the mercy of the Governor-General—candidly confess his error, and humbly solicit that it should be overlooked, in consideration of his inexperience and ignorance of the law. A letter was accordingly prepared, couched in the terms proposed; and the contrite A.D.C., with many misgivings, consigned it to his friend, to be presented to Lord Wellesley when he should be found in the most *perfect good humor*.

"The *amende* was gravely, but graciously accepted by his Lordship, who was cognisant of the whole affair, and was, perhaps, the prompter of the plot; and after a suitable admonition on the virtue of discretion, the happy A.D.C. was once more restored to the favor and smiles of the Governor-General.

"The moral of all this is, that, when under the influence of some dominant feeling, we become blind to the most transparent absurdities."

The earlier part of the year 1805 was, to Mr. Tucker, a season of unwearying application to the business of the mercantile house; but his health was not affected by the incessant labor, and his

spirits were sustained by the thought that his period of exile was drawing to a close. Mr. Palmer had written out to him at the beginning of the year: "I certainly shall enable you to make your election between the Service and the House in twenty months, when I promise myself the felicity of taking you by the hand." Mr. Tucker had made his election. He had determined, on the return of his friend to India, to retire from that country, and to take Mr. Palmer's place in the House of Business at home. His attachment to his native country, and the warmth of his domestic affections, had never abated. It was, indeed, the chief solace of his life to think of the prospect before him of joining the family circle from which he had been so suddenly and violently detached as a boy, and contributing to the comforts of those dear ones who were not rich in worldly possessions. This latter he had been doing for years. It would be an injustice, not merely to the subject of this memoir, but to the goodness that is in human nature, to withhold all notice of these things. Much has been said and written, in various times and various places, about the selfish luxuriousness of dwellers in the East—the drying up of the pure home feeling within them—their isolation, their arrogance, their uncharitableness. But hundreds upon hundreds have been kept alive in India solely by this good home feeling—by the hope of some day rejoining the family circle, and renewing the associations of their childhood. And it would be hard, indeed, to say how many firesides in these British isles are

brightened by the kindly generosity of absent sons and brothers, who esteem it their highest privilege to contribute to the comforts of the dear ones they have left behind. There is little truth in the popular belief that the environments of Indian life have a tendency to indurate and ossify the heart. The climate may parch and wither the body, but it does not dry up the well-spring of the affections. If that "history of firesides," of which the old poet declared the "want," were written, it would not be found that the Indian exile, who leaves it as a boy, perhaps cast out as a reprobate, is the one who has contributed least to the joint-stock of happiness collected round the Christmas hearth.

From Mr. Tucker's private letters, written at this time, may be gathered how much he thought of his friends at home, and how it was the practice of his life to share his Indian earnings with them, though little was the time that he could snatch from his wearisome task-work to give expression to the strength of his affections. "I have been so much engaged of late by business, my dearest N——," he wrote briefly to his sister in January, 1805, "that I have not been able to pay the least attention to my absent friends, or to any private duty of my own. I never was so harassed in all my life; but it is now, I hope, pretty well over, and my health has received no prejudice from my hard labor. I write now merely to satisfy you that I am alive and well, for the packets are off, and I have only a few *tired* moments to dedicate to you. I sent off yester-

day a few hasty lines for my father, for my conscience smote me; but do you make up for all my deficiencies in your letters to him. I slightly suggested the idea of his paying you a visit in England, where we may all perhaps have the satisfaction of meeting. It was done with a view to his gratification, and not to save myself a trip to Bermuda. I shall see you, please Heaven! about June twelvemonth, and I shall revisit Bermuda, if I live, at all events. I have been so often disappointed, however, that I scarcely allow myself to contemplate the happiness which I expect to enjoy in seeing once more my friends and country."

In March he wrote again, full of the solacing idea of his contemplated return to England:—"Please Heaven, this time twelvemonth I shall be approaching towards old England, where the happiness of seeing you is not one of the *last* things I look to. Nothing, I hope, is likely to occur to disappoint me now, for I should feel a disappointment most sorely."

In June he wrote again, still dwelling tenderly upon the same cheering thought, and in reply to some remarks in his correspondent's letters about his self-denying generosity, asking what he could do better with his money than divide it with those he loved:—"You have not," he said, "kept me a day in this country, nor will you influence at all my return to it (for return I must). It is my fate to lead an unsettled life, and perhaps I should not be

more happy if I had the means of retirement. This country, upon the whole, has many advantages; and as my health is good, it will be no severe punishment to me to return to a respectable situation in it. However, we will talk over all this when we meet a year hence; and I wish you only to recollect that you will destroy all the pleasure which I shall otherwise experience from affording you a little assistance, by showing me that it is at all painful to you to receive it. Why should it be so? and in what way can I derive more gratification from the use of money? There are very few ways of spending it from which I ever derived much satisfaction."

But the sustaining hope of the visit to England was not destined to be soon an accomplished fact. These dreams of the Future, however, are not without their uses. To the Indian exile they are life and health; vigor and activity. The seat in the London counting-house was, after all, never to be taken. When Mr. Tucker announced to Lord Wellesley that the honored nobleman, under whose government he had first served, had been re-appointed to the Governor-Generalship, he little thought how great an influence the appointment would exercise over his whole future life. But so it was. Mr. Tucker had chalked out for himself the unambitious career of an English merchant. But the State had need of his services. A crisis had arisen in the affairs of India, which rendered it necessary that the

man, who had shown himself to be of all others the most competent to manage her Exchequer, should again actively concern himself with the practicalities of official life. India had need of a Finance Minister in such an hour; and Henry St.George Tucker was the man.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival of Lord Cornwallis—State of Public Affairs—Condition of the Finances—Death of Cornwallis—Succession of Sir G. Barlow—Mr. Tucker re-appointed Accountant-General—Financial Measures—Their Unpopularity—Correspondence with Sir G. Barlow and others—Financial Results.

On the 30th of July, 1805, Lord Cornwallis a second time took the oaths of office, and was proclaimed Governor-General of India. Long years of hard service in the West and in the East had impaired his robust constitution; but his prudence, his experience, and his great name were considered alike by the Court of Directors and the King's Ministers more than sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantages of age and infirmity. And so the venerable nobleman was called from the retirement of his country seat at Culford, again to take part in the active concerns of public life. Reluctantly he consented to take what he himself called the "rash step of returning to India;" and he went to his grave.

To the student of Indian history there is nothing more interesting than this epoch—nothing in all the annals of British connexion with the East more suggestive of reflection, and provocative of controversy, than the incidents which this period embraced.

Into the consideration of these events, even in the page of deliberate history, something of the old leaven of partisanship, which embittered cotemporary discussion, has been suffered to enter; and the Wellesley and Cornwallis schools of politics are still talked of as though it were a necessity that a public writer should belong to the one or the other. I do not myself perceive that the followers of the former nobleman were moved by a "general frenzy for conquest and victory," or that those of the latter were weakly and pusillanimously regardless of the honor of their country. But I do see that in the autumn of 1805 the affairs of our British-Indian Empire were in such a state, that the course of policy to be pursued by its rulers had almost ceased to be matter of choice. The wisdom of the statesman was reduced to foolishness, and the might of the warrior to feebleness, by the stern necessities of an exhausted Treasury. There were great armies in the field, and there were great men eager to lead them to victory; but the money-bags were in a state of collapse, and to play "the grand game" any longer was, in the minds of men not inflamed by the excitement of the contest, to precipitate ruin, and to steep the country in disgrace.

It is certain that the crisis was a great one. It is scarcely less certain that the magnitude of the danger was not seen, in all its proportions, by those who, on the actual theatre of war, were dazzled by the brilliancy of the career which opened out before them, and could see nothing but the disaster and

disgrace of abandoning a policy which had already been pursued so far, and with the consummation of which the honor of the British Government appeared to be so closely inwoven. But on the banks of the Hooghly, Lord Wellesley had begun to perceive the necessity of exercising a little more caution and forbearance, and to recognise the truth that measures wise and expedient in themselves, are only wise and expedient so long as there are the means of carrying them into execution without engendering evils greater than any they are designed to prevent. And that these were the opinions of his successors stands recorded in their actions no less than in their words. It does not come within the scope of such a work as this to enter into the subject of our political relations in Upper India at this time. It is enough for my present purpose to treat of the great financial question which Lord Cornwallis was now called upon to solve. The British-Indian Government was in a state of absolute bankruptcy. The alarm which was entertained in Leadenhall-street had communicated itself to the Home Ministry, and the new Governor-General was sent out with peremptory instructions at once to curtail the ruinous war-charges which were overburdening the State, whatever might be the result of such retrenchments upon the military and diplomatic operations then in progress in the North-West.

On the 30th of July, as has been said, Cornwallis took, a second time, the oaths of office. It was, I believe, upon the very same, or on the following

day, that he sent for Mr. Tucker, and requested him again to take charge of the Public Finances. The Governor-General, who knew well how the success of the measures, which he was now about to undertake in an hour of extreme peril, depended upon the ability of the Finance Minister who was to shape his plans of reform and to carry out all their details, had taken counsel with the chief functionaries who met him on his arrival, and inquired into the personal agency at his disposal for the execution of the policy on which he had determined. He had known Mr. Tucker during his first tenure of office only as a young but a promising subordinate. During the years, however, of his absence from India, he had taken the liveliest interest in its concerns, and had continually corresponded with one of the ablest officers and readiest writers in the country. From Mr. Barlow he had never ceased to receive detailed accounts of all that had been passing in India; and he must have been well acquainted with the services which Mr. Tucker had rendered as a financier during the early years of Lord Wellesley's administration. What he before heard was now repeated—what he before believed was now confirmed—by the representations of Barlow, Edmonstone, and Lumsden;* and he determined, therefore, to endeavor to recall Mr. Tucker to his old place in the financial bureau.

* Barlow—at this time Sir George Barlow, for his distinguished services had earned him a baronetcy—was senior Member of Council, Mr. Edmonstone and Mr. Lumsden were the chief officers of the Secretariat.

By no man was Lord Cornwallis more respected and more beloved than by Mr. Tucker. No man saw more clearly than the old Accountant-General that the State had need, in such an emergency, of all the administrative capacity it could command—and most especially in the department of Finance. But much as, on these accounts, it would have delighted him to return to his old office, he was compelled, at this time, to recognise the cogency of other more immediate claims. He could not, without injury to his associates in business, withdraw himself from the mercantile House with which he was connected, and of which his industry and ability had rendered him confessedly the main stay. It was, indeed, his primary duty, under the circumstances which then surrounded him, to cling to the mercantile friends with whom he had linked himself, whatever might be the allurements which tempted him to return to the service of the State. He was still on the list of Government servants; but he had made his election to retire. And the pledges which he had made to his associates could not then be violated without injury to the House and without discredit to himself. He could only, indeed, withdraw under a voluntary release from his partners in business, and the assurance that his withdrawal would not be detrimental to the House.

The flattering offer made to him by Lord Cornwallis was therefore declined. Whether any advice was elicited from him at this time I do not know, but the course adopted by Lord Cornwallis was that

of which, had his opinion been sought, he would have cordially approved. Two days after his arrival, his Lordship addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, in which he said, "I take the earliest opportunity of an overland despatch to inform you of my arrival at this place, and of my having taken upon me the office of Governor-General on the 30th ultimo. Finding, to my great concern, that we are still at war with Holkar, and that we can hardly be said to be at peace with Scindiah, I have determined to proceed immediately to the Upper Provinces, that I may be at hand to avail myself of the interval which the present rainy season must occasion to the military operations, to endeavor, if it can be done without a sacrifice of our honor, to terminate by negotiation a contest in which the most brilliant success can afford no solid benefit, and which, if it should continue, must involve us in pecuniary difficulties which we shall hardly be able to surmount."

In fulfilment of the intentions here expressed, Lord Cornwallis set out immediately upon his journey, by water, to the Upper Provinces of India. On the 9th of August he wrote from his pinnace on the Ganges a more detailed letter to the Court of Directors. "One of the first objects," he wrote, "to which my attention has been directed since my accession to this government, was an inquiry into the state of our Finances, the result of which affords the most discouraging prospects." And then, having enlarged upon the necessity of disbanding the large bodies of Irregular troops, the mainte-

nance of which was then costing the State little less than six lakhs of rupees a month, and of paying up the arrears due to the regular forces, he went on to say: "I am necessitated to look to an extraordinary resource in this state of things, and that which has presented itself to my mind as the most expedient is the detention of the treasure destined for China, and expected in the ships under the convoy of Sir Thomas Troubridge. Whether that may be the full extent of 200,000*l.* advised to be intended for China, or whether a portion of it only is in those ships, I am not informed; but the urgency of the case is so great here, that I have taken upon myself to direct the whole of what may be imported on that part of the China fleet to be landed at Madras, and to be forwarded immediately to this Presidency; and I have also strongly urged the Madras Government, if they find they can spare 50,000*l.* of the specie allotted for the service of that Presidency, to consign that sum also to Bengal, applying to the Admiral for such protection for the despatch of the treasure as may obviate all risk from the danger of an enemy." The crisis, indeed, was such, that it was necessary to sacrifice the Investment. The immediate demand for money utterly overwhelmed the thought of prospective advantage.

Such were the first measures to which Lord Cornwallis directed his attention. As he proceeded up the river, however, his health began to decline, and with only some transient intervals of delusive improvement his malady increased upon him, until at

Ghazeepore, on the 5th of October, he sunk into rest. Many deplored his return to office, and questioned the wisdom of his measures; but all beloved and respected him living, and all lamented him dead.

Sir George Barlow had some time before been appointed provisional Governor-General. He now took the oaths of office. What Lord Cornwallis had desired, his successor also yearned and strove to accomplish—the re-appointment of Mr. Tucker to the Accountant-Generalship of Bengal. It seems that the latter had, some time before, promised Sir George Barlow, that if ever the Governor-Generalship devolved upon him, he would become his chief Minister of Finance. The new Governor-General was not forgetful of this promise. A change had come over Mr. Tucker's position with regard to the mercantile House of which he was a partner, since he had conceived himself necessitated to decline the flattering invitation of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Palmer was now returning to Calcutta, and his arrival was shortly expected. It was now therefore in the power of Mr. Tucker to enter again into official life without injury to his associates. So he consented to take charge of the Finances.

It was with no common feelings of delight that Sir George Barlow welcomed the succor which thus opportunely presented itself to him, at a time when the Government was beset with embarrassments and perplexities from which there seemed to be little hope of extrication. It was not a great military

question—it was not a great political question—that had now to be solved. It was simply a Financial question. The Financial question had absorbed every other consideration; and of little service to the State was it at such a time that the military skill of a Lake, and the diplomatic talents of a Malcolm, were continually at its command. What was wanted to save the country in such a juncture, was not a great Soldier, or a great Diplomatist, but a great Financier; and now the Government had obtained the services of the man they needed, and Sir George Barlow was full of gratitude and joy, which he did not hesitate to express. The letter in which he communicates these sentiments to his friend, is written with a fervor the sincerity of which gleams out of every sentence:

"SIR G. H. BARLOW TO MR. TUCKER.

"Saturday.

"MY DEAR TUCKER,—Incessant interruption has prevented me from answering your note. I am at a loss for words to express my sense of this mark of your friendship. Your undertaking again the management of the Finances at this critical period under the circumstances supposed, would be of the greatest importance to the public interests and welfare, and the success which I am confident would attend your exertions would reflect the highest degree of credit on my Government, and constitute its chief support. I therefore accept your offer with joy and gratitude; and only hope that I shall not find you have made too great a sacrifice of your personal interests to your friendship for me.

"I am persuaded there will be no difficulty with Davis; and I will make any consideration you may think proper to Egerton for waiving his claim to the succession, under the promise of it which I obtained from Lord Cornwallis. If you will call

upon me to-morrow we will settle the whole arrangement as you may wish it should be made, if it is to take place.

"Believe me to be, with the greatest regard,

"Yours ever sincerely,

"G. H. BARLOW."

The necessary official arrangements were soon completed. There was much good feeling on the one side, and of delicacy on the other. It was settled that Mr. Davis, the retiring Accountant-General, should make up the accounts of the old year, and retain his official designation until his departure for England, which was close at hand. That every consideration should be shown to his predecessor, and that Government should especially recognise his services, Mr. Tucker anxiously desired, and emphatically requested, whilst Mr. Davis upon his part exerted himself to facilitate an arrangement which he knew to be advantageous to the State.* On the 18th of October, Mr. Tucker took charge of the current business of the office.† A week before this, however,

* "I am to take charge of the current business from Davis to-morrow," he wrote to Mr. Lumsden, on the 17th of October. "He has shown every possible desire to accommodate matters in the most satisfactory manner." In another letter from Mr. Lumsden to Sir George Barlow, the writer says: "Tucker desires me to say, that from what he has already seen he is satisfied that Davis is entitled to very high credit for his general management, that he has shown the most cheerful readiness to come into all his wishes, and that he (Tucker) hopes that you will record a handsome testimony of your sense of Davis's conduct, on the occasion of his resignation of the office of Accountant-General."

† It was arranged that Mr. Tucker should covenant to relinquish his connexion with the House of business within a month after the arrival of Mr. Palmer, which was then shortly expected. See letter from Mr. Lumsden to Sir G. Barlow (November 2, 1805), in which the writer says: "In consequence of the arrival of your despatches for the *Medusa*, the meeting of Council intended to be held on Thursday was postponed by Mr. Udny till yesterday. Davis's resignation was then ready, and Tucker's appointment to the office of

he had fully determined upon the measures which it behoved Government to prosecute in the existing crisis, and had written the following elaborate letter to the Governor-General:

"FROM MR. TUCKER TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW, BART.

"11th Oct., 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—In consequence of Egerton having somewhat prematurely mentioned to Davis your intended arrangement for my succession to the office of Accountant-General, I thought it necessary to explain to the latter, and found that he had no objection to deliver over charge of the office whenever you might wish it. I thought it advisable, therefore, to inform myself of the state of affairs as soon as possible; and as a few questions will call for your early attention, I shall briefly advert to them.

"From a cursory view of the accounts, it would appear that our situation is such as to require the most particular attention. It must be thoroughly probed; and when fairly exhibited, you will be convinced, I think, that nothing but the most determined resolution, and the most vigorous measures, will extricate us from the greatest embarrassment. Our expenditure of late for military and political purposes has been enormous; and instead of a surplus revenue, the Indian account proper exhibits at present a most lamentable deficiency. The supplies to the other Presidencies, too, and particularly to Bombay, appear to have been on a scale altogether disproportionate to our resources.

"Now, whatever we may hope for from good management, or the influence of public opinion, our prosperity can never be solid or permanent unless it rest upon a substantial foundation, and this foundation must be a *solvent account*. If we go on upon a scale of expense far exceeding our income, the concern

Accountant-General has been made. A note will appear in the proceedings, stating that Tucker will relinquish all concern in the House of Trail, Palmer, and Co., at the expiration of a month after the arrival of Mr. Palmer, which may be expected in the course of the present or the ensuing month."

to the Company, as I have before observed to you, must be ruinous, in whatever degree the nation may benefit from our possessions in India.

"I am persuaded, therefore, that you will see the absolute necessity of making a complete reform in our expenditure, not confining it to this Presidency, or stopping at slight reductions, but extending it so far as to bring our annual charge within our annual revenue at the very least. Should peace be happily re-established, I should hope that great reductions might be effected in the military establishments of Fort St. George and Bombay; and this object cannot too soon or too forcibly be impressed upon the attention of those Governments, and of the Court of Directors. Here, too, I trust further reductions will be found practicable; and it is of great importance that they should be made at as early a period as possible, consistently with a proper regard for our external and internal security. The magnitude of our military Establishments in the Western Provinces subjects us not only to a *direct* charge to an immense amount, but also to an *indirect* charge, by compelling us to remit from hence the deficiency upon the account of revenue and charge of those provinces at very great expense.

"I am apprehensive that the ten-per-cent. loan will not succeed to such an extent as might have been wished, and I regret extremely that the interest was not allowed to have retrospective operation, because it would have furnished a strong additional motive for the transfer of the cash passes and Treasury-bills, and our object should have been to render the loan as productive as possible, in order that we may not be compelled to recur to any similar expedient at a future period. Had the outstanding passes and a fair proportion of the Treasury-bills been transferred, I should have entertained sanguine hopes of our succeeding very soon in re-establishing the credit of our currency, which is the very first object to be attended to. About 28,00,000 rupees in passes still remain in demand against the Treasury; and if these be not transferred before the loan closes, which I scarcely now expect, some other means must be devised to relieve ourselves from them, and nothing occurs to

me, at present, but to get them exchanged for bills at a pretty long sight on the provincial treasuries. This is a sort of anticipation of our land-revenue ; but still nothing can be done until we get rid of this encumbrance. The Treasury-bills outstanding amount to about 1,14,00,000 rupees ; but I am not alarmed at this sum.

"It will be advisable, in my opinion, to open an eight-per-cent. loan as soon as possible after the ten-per-cent. loan closes, both for the purpose of supplying the remaining deficiency of the year, and of affording the military in Oude, &c., &c., an opportunity of realising their arrears, a proportion of which they are always glad to remit to the Presidency through the channel of the public loans. I have been reflecting a good deal on the terms which it would be expedient to grant; and, after the best consideration I have been able yet to give the question, it appears to me that an eight-per-cent. loan *at par* will be most suitable to existing circumstances. I was disposed to think at first that a loan might be attempted even above par; but, considering our actual situation, I am apprehensive that this would be found too large a stride, and it is moreover extremely desirable to fund a large proportion of the heavy arrears in Oude, for which a loan above par would scarcely afford sufficient inducement. I would keep the loan open but for a short period (say to the 1st February), in order that we may have more time to raise our terms gradually; and should we succeed in this first step, the next loan, I should hope, might be opened at two per cent. above par. We must do everything possible to raise the eight-per-cents., that we may be able to offer by some subsequent loan next year favorable terms to induce the transfer of the ten-per-cent. debt, amounting to a crore of rupees, which becomes payable in January, 1807. This debt will otherwise be most embarrassing.

"With regard to Investment, I can only say that Davis seems to think it will be impossible to furnish further advances this year; and I am much inclined to concur in the opinion, for the first consideration is to emancipate ourselves from a state of absolute bankruptcy, and to re-establish our credit. This done,

we shall have a fair prospect of being able to furnish a proper Investment next year; but if we neglect to attend to this primary consideration, I can perceive no better ground for expecting an Investment next year than we have had in the present. I understand, however, that some arrangement has been made for disposing of the shipping, founded on a presumption that an Investment to the amount of 80,00,000 rupees may be provided by the month of August next. This appears to me a most extravagant proposition—I believe no precedent for anything of the kind is to be found in times of our greatest prosperity; but to attempt such a violent effort while we are yet in uncertainty whether we are at peace or war, and while our credit is in a state of great depression, would be both imprudent and fruitless. I do not enter into the consideration of the question, how far it is wise to keep the ships here so long on demurrage on any uncertainty, or how far it is judicious to make a total alteration with respect to the period of sending home the annual Investment, because these are professional questions on which others are better informed—But I would not engage to furnish the means of providing this premature Investment, and I would not hold out expectations to the Court of Directors, which may influence their arrangements, when the expectation cannot be indulged upon any solid grounds.

"This is all which it occurs to me at present to mention on public business. I shall keep you regularly advised of everything; and after my appointment takes place, I shall wait upon Mr. Udny from time to time, and submit to him every measure of importance which it may appear to me necessary to adopt. There is one little matter, however, which concerns myself individually, with which I must trouble you. I could wish to be permitted to occupy the apartments in the office which were heretofore occupied by my predecessors, and which are at present unoccupied. Independently of considerations of economy, comfort, and health (for the situation of the house is particularly favorable), I should experience real convenience from living in my office with my books and papers always about me. I could do business at hours when it might other-

wise be impracticable—those under me would probably be more regular in their attendance when I should be always at hand to overlook them—and individuals with whom I might have business would not have to search for me in different places. This was sometimes, I believe, attended with no trifling inconvenience when I had *three* separate haunts, as I must have still for two or three months. If it be judged necessary to put the house into a state of repair, it can now be done without incurring the expense of hiring another building for the temporary accommodation of the office, as I would give up my own house for the purpose. I am not, however, solicitous myself to have this done immediately, if it be not necessary, as I can always make my own apartments sufficiently comfortable. Nor have I a word more to say with respect to the arrangement if it be liable to the slightest objection.*

"We continue to receive none but the most afflicting accounts of poor Lord Cornwallis; but this distressing subject has been sufficiently long on your mind, and so it has on mine. I shall ever continue to revere his memory as the greatest of public characters and the most excellent of men.

"Believe me ever, very sincerely, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

In all cases of pecuniary embarrassment, national or individual, the first step towards extrication must be a correct ascertainment of the debts and liabilities for which provision is to be made. It was certain that in Upper India the military expenditure had been enormous, and that the pay of the army was greatly in arrears. What the exact deficiency was, Mr. Tucker set himself at the outset to ascertain; but it will be gathered from the following letter, that correct information on this vital point was with difficulty to be acquired:

* These arrangements were cheerfully sanctioned by the Governor-General; and Mr. Tucker re-occupied his old official residence.

"MR. TUCKER TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

"Calcutta, 13th October, 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—Lumsden favored me this morning with the perusal of your letter to him of the 10th instant, and I hasten to communicate all the little information I can on a subject which must engage your particular attention.

"One of the first inquiries I made was to ascertain the arrears of the army in the Western Provinces, and they were stated to me, on the latest information obtained at the Accountant-General's office, at 33,00,000 rupees. To meet this and other demands, I learnt from Davis that 37,00,000 had been remitted in specie and bullion.

Not being satisfied, however, that the arrear was ascertained to a period sufficiently late, I referred again to Egerton yesterday, but have not yet been able to obtain more accurate information. I have written also to Mr. Mackenzie, and when I can ascertain the probable extent of the demand I shall do everything in my power to provide for it. In the mean time I have sent for one of the principal shroffs, to see if it be possible to effect remittances from hence by Hoondee or otherwise. I have no great hopes of immediate success, but you shall be immediately advised if anything can be done. Perhaps the Commander-in-Chief or yourself may be able to draw on Moorshedabad at or near par, as the purchasers of your bills would be certain of obtaining payment in specie. You could not do so in Calcutta just now without stipulating for payment in specie, because the shroffs will certainly demand a difference of exchange equal at least to the real or expected discount on the Treasury-bills. By drawing on Moorshedabad, you would avoid the necessity of making a stipulation which is calculated to discredit the Treasury-bills; and I should do everything in my power to provide funds at that place to meet your bills.

"It is impossible that we should go on well if we continue so much in the dark with respect to the military disbursements in Oude, &c., for the distance is so great that the arrangements for furnishing the necessary supplies must be made long before they are likely to be required. I have therefore furnished

Lumsden with the form of an estimate, and have suggested that *all* the paymasters of the army be directed to forward one on the 1st of every month to the Accountant-General *direct*. If we are to wait for information until it passes through all the processes of the Military Department, we never can depend on receiving it in time. I do not mean to say that the present distress for supplies has proceeded from not knowing our wants, for we have not actually possessed the means of supplying them; but still the information is essential.

"It occurred to me that some person experienced in accounts (Sherer, for instance) might be of great use, either with you or the Commander-in-Chief; but I hear that Mr. Nugent has been appointed to superintend the accounts of the army; and if you will only direct him to keep the Accountant-General regularly informed of the arrears, probable disbursements of the army, &c., &c., every necessary purpose will, I trust, be answered.

"Every possible attention will be paid to the state of Colonel Collins' treasury; and if means can be devised for supplying it at an early period, I will not fail to let you know. It must, in fact, be considered one of the treasuries of the army.

"Believe me ever, very sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"P.S.—I find, from Mr. Mackenzie, that he has no account of the military arrears in Oude later than the 31st of July, when they amounted to Sicca rupees 33,00,000, as noted by Egerton (Sonaut rupees 35,00,000).

"H. T."

A few days afterwards he wrote again to the Governor-General, urging upon him, in emphatic language, the necessity of prompt and decisive measures, regardless of all scruples on the score of personal considerations:

"MR. TUCKER TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

Calcutta, 19th October, 1805.

"My dear Sir George,—Lumsden will have informed you that Davis readily assented to everything that was proposed regarding the future arrangement of the office, and I now attend to the current business, and shall take charge from him regularly, as soon as he can complete the annual accounts of the past year.

"I have held in mind the necessity of making provision for the supply of the army in the field, and orders have been sent to the collectors of Behar to make a remittance in specie to Cawnpore with all possible expedition. I am in hopes that three or four lakhs may be sent off immediately, and you or the Commander-in-Chief will of course give the necessary orders for the disposal of the money on its arrival at Cawnpore. Much cannot be done at present. I could obtain Hoondees for a few lakhs of rupees on Lucknow, in exchange for bills on our Bengal treasuries; but it will be giving away our only resource here, and I wish, therefore, to wait a little before I adopt this measure. If I find that the money is absolutely necessary for the army, all other objects must give place to this paramount consideration.

"The loan closes to-day; and I fear it will not have succeeded to the extent necessary to relieve us from our embarrassments. The amount of Treasury passes outstanding has increased within a day or two, instead of being diminished; and to place the Treasury in a solvent state will now be impossible. We have only about seven lakhs of our English money remaining to meet demands to a very large amount, independently of a heavy arrear.

"I have prepared the plan of an eight-per-cent. loan, which I propose to submit to Mr. Udny immediately. I propose that subscriptions should be received at par—that the acknowledgments should bear an interest of ten per cent. per annum, until they are exchanged for notes—and that, in the instance of cash passes and Treasury-bills, interest should be allowed at the same rate (ten per cent.) from their *respective dates*, instead of the in-

terest which they severally bear at present. The same reasons which induced me to recommend that interest should be allowed retrospectively at ten per cent. on subscriptions to the present loan, apply equally to the proposed loan; and I have some hopes that the difference of interest which will be obtained may operate as an inducement to individuals to transfer their cash passes and Treasury-bills which have been long outstanding. It is very desirable of course to get rid of these, for while the passes hang over us, we can never re-establish our credit, and the old Treasury-bills, as they come in, will be converted in general into these passes. Moreover, the service to be provided for this year is so extensive and urgent, that we must have a productive loan, and every inducement should be held out to render it so.

"With respect to investment, I am much afraid that it will be quite impossible to furnish any further advances this year. Had the loan taken off nearly the whole of our cash passes, I was in hopes that something further might have been done for the investment; but we have not only to encounter still a large deficiency here, but we must attend to the supply of the army as an object of the first consideration.

"As soon as Davis has finished the accounts of last year and the estimate of the present, it is my intention to prepare for you a brief abstract calculated to exhibit our real situation, or the present state of the account proper of India, unconnected with the supplies to or from Great Britain. I fear it will exhibit a very discouraging result; but I confidently rely on your exerting every degree of energy to give a different complexion to our affairs. From all I have seen, I am firmly persuaded that another year of improvident expenditure on the scale of the past, would have exposed us to the most serious calamity, and the mischief is only now to be averted by the most determined conduct on your part without regard to personal considerations of any kind. You will excuse my writing to you with freedom, for you know that I can have but one motive. Reflect for one moment what might be apprehended if, after going on anticipating our resources, we came at length to that point that we

could no longer pay our troops. It is obvious that an army cannot be of any use unless it can be moved, and that it cannot be moved unless it can be subsisted. We have touched very nearly upon this point already; and if we had not received so liberal a supply of money from England, I know not how you could have undertaken another campaign. If any accident should happen during your administration, the blame and responsibility will attach to you, although the mischief may have been prepared by others. I do not mean that you are to be influenced by the consideration of what may happen to yourself. The object to be attended to is the public interest; and this is inseparable from your own. I only hope that you will not allow delicacy towards others, nor any collateral consideration, to interfere with the steady pursuit of this object. You are placed in a most delicate and a most arduous situation; and the most determined firmness can alone, I think, enable you to avoid very great embarrassments.

"I know little of our political situation, and it would not, therefore, become me to say anything on the subject. Peace is evidently most desirable, if it can be established on a solid foundation; for, until it be restored, we cannot expect to get rid of the enormous military charge which at present oppresses us. I trust, however, that as far as reform can be effected, both military and civil, you will do everything possible to accomplish it, whether we are to have peace or war. Much may be done, no doubt, if we set seriously to work; and that it is necessary, both with a view to the public interests and your own reputation, that a very material reform should be made, there cannot be a doubt.

"20*th October*.—I was interrupted yesterday, and was unable to conclude my letter.

"On looking more minutely into the accounts, it appears to me that the difficulties which Davis has had to encounter have not been fairly appreciated. They have been very great. I have not had for some time past a favorable opinion of our situation; but I never apprehended that our expenditure, pro-

fuse as I suspected it to have been, was on such a scale. I was as much surprised to hear of a military disbursement of 3,40,00,000 of rupees, as I should have been if it had been ten times that amount. It is not, too, in the Military Department only where this lavish expenditure appears to have taken place of late. Considering, therefore, the difficulties which Davis has had to surmount, I trust that you will bear ample testimony to his merits. It will be but bare justice. He has manifested, too, the greatest desire to accommodate and to comply with your wishes in everything relating to the change in the office.

"It is very possible, I think, that our late expenditure here may be severely scrutinised in England, as in my opinion it ought to be; but whether it is, or not, I trust you will put an immediate stop to it.

"I most earnestly conjure you not to leave the public purse in the hands in which it has been placed for some time past. I trust that you will take everything into your own hands, and look to everything yourself. Let military men lead our armies; but do not make statesmen and financiers of men who have not been formed such, either by nature or education. If you wish me to speak more plainly, I will do it; for I have no idea of delicacy when there are great interests at stake. In all matters of public duty, I am disposed at all times to say and do what I think right and proper, without the smallest regard to consequences. Is it not a miserable state of things, as Malcolm, I think, very naturally asks, that the movement of our armies should be obstructed, and those armies prevented from 'driving Holkar to the devil,' for the want of a few lakhs of rupees? But who has brought on this state of things? And is it not more lamentable still that the fate of a great empire should in a great measure be in the hands of a man who manifests such total ignorance on one branch of duty (the administration of finance) which seems to have been especially entrusted to him of late? You will excuse my harping on this subject, and indeed my agitating it at all. Nothing but my feeling the deepest interest in

the prosperity of our affairs, and the success of your administration, could have induced me to write on it.

"I have just had the perusal of poor Lord Cornwallis's instructions to Lord Lake of the 19th ultimo, and was particularly gratified at observing the moderate course of policy which it appears to have been his intention to pursue. I have also had a long and confidential conversation with Robinson, which has afforded me a good deal of information with regard to his Lordship's sentiments and intentions. I shall never cease to revere his memory! May you happily conclude what he sacrificed himself to accomplish.

"Believe me ever, very sincerely, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"20th October, 1805.

"P.S.—The loan has produced only 60,00,000 rupees, and I am sorry to say that it has called in but a small proportion of the outstanding passes.

"H. T."

These manly utterances are to be admired; but Sir George Barlow needed no such stimulants to urge him to do what he believed to be the duty of the chief ruler. Of the character and the conduct of this statesman different opinions have been expressed. There is a mist of controversy about him. History has taken note of him, chiefly to condemn; but they who have censured him most have understood him least, and he never lived to see justice done to him. His great moral courage, however, has never been questioned even by the most virulent of his assailants, and it shone forth conspicuously at this time. He was one of those men who never shrink from responsibility, but go straight to the work before them without halting or waver-

ing, or turning aside to regard personal distractions. "I am fully sensible," he wrote to Mr. Tucker, on the 18th of October, "of the nature and extent of our financial difficulties, and that there is no other mode of overcoming them but that which you have described. You may rely that in this, as in all other points, I shall pursue, without hesitation, the direct course of my public duty. I shall rely on your pointing out to me, from time to time, such articles of expense as may appear to you to admit of being reduced, and as may escape my notice." And again, a week or two afterwards, he wrote: "You may confidently rely on my executing, without hesitation, whatever the exigencies of the Public Service may require, in the most prompt and decided manner. Lumsden will inform you that I had resolved to pursue the line of conduct which you have so justly stated to be absolutely necessary for the public interests, as well as for the maintenance of my own character, in the very arduous and responsible situation in which I have been thrown. I entirely concur in all your able reasoning upon this subject, and shall regulate my conduct accordingly, without regard to any personal consequences or considerations whatever. Lumsden will probably have informed you that I have taken the most decided steps with reference to this course of proceeding. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the warm interest you take respecting me, nor for the undisguised manner in which you have stated to me the difficulties of my situation. Confidently rely, that in so doing you

have added greatly to my esteem and affection for you; and I trust that you will find me deserving of the confidence you have reposed in me." And in a later letter he wrote, still in the same strain, but with more emphatic earnestness: "I entreat, my friend, that you will continue to write to me with the utmost freedom; for no person can be more fully sensible than myself that my character and future happiness depend upon my doing not what I wish, or what I think right, but what is actually right. I trust, however, that in future you will always suppose that when your opinion differs from mine, or when events shall prove that I have erred, that I at least acted for the best, and under the influence of public motives exclusively, without any private motive in view whatever."

There was little fear of two men, who entered into their work thus manfully and in the same spirit, not co-operating heartily together. What they had to do may be gathered, in some measure, from Mr. Tucker's letters already quoted. In a few words, it was to find money for present emergencies, and to diminish the future expenditure of the State. The former was to be done by applying to immediate purposes the money which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been devoted to the Investment, and by opening a new loan. The latter was to be done by a reduction in every department of the State, and especially by a reduction of the war-charges. "The great reforms from which we are to expect relief," wrote Sir George Barlow to Mr.

Tucker, "must be made in the Political and in the Military expenses; and, depend upon it, I will not stop until I have rendered our expenses proportionate to our income. The danger to which we are exposed whilst our finances remain in their present melancholy state is, in my opinion, infinitely greater than any danger which we are likely to incur by the reduction of our military and political expenses to the scale which I have stated." And again, in another letter: "Lumsden will have informed you of the orders for the return of the Bombay army to Goozerat, and I have taken measures for the reduction of all war-expenses both at Fort St. George and Bombay; and I am now preparing further orders for effecting reductions in their ordinary military expenses to the extent which may be practicable consistently with our security. I shall not, indeed, scruple to expose that security to some little hazard to avoid the greater danger resulting from the deranged and embarrassed state of our resources. Lord Lake has assured me that he has every reason to hope he shall be able to order all the troops on this side into Cantonments without delay, excepting a light army, which he proposes to retain under his own personal command, until we have brought matters to a termination with Holkar, which I trust we shall be able to effect in a very short period of time. Lumsden will have informed you of the reductions which I have ordered or proposed in the civil branch of our establishments here; and I believe that I have anticipated or

adopted all your suggestions on this subject. I am firmly determined to proceed in making reductions throughout India, until we have rendered our fixed expenditure proportionate to our income."

These views were entirely in unison with those entertained by Mr. Tucker, who saw, perhaps even more distinctly than the Governor-General himself, the dangers which surrounded our position; for the one subject of Finance was ever present to his thoughts. From all quarters there was a cry for money, and who could be more painfully conscious of our embarrassments than the man whose duty it was to provide it—if he could? But to respond satisfactorily to all these demands was clearly an impossibility. "If it would answer any useful purpose to enter into details of our situation," he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, towards the close of November, "you would see how impossible it is at the present moment to provide for the demands which are pressing upon us from all quarters. I yesterday received a statement showing that the troops in Bundlekund are six months in arrear, (there will be above fifteen lakhs due to them at the end of the present month,) and some of them have not even been completely paid for April and May. The Grand Army is also greatly in arrear. There are deficiencies in every principal Treasury in the country. Our general Treasury has long been bankrupt. Our currency is vitiated, and our means of borrowing are pretty well exhausted." "We have been going on very heedlessly," he added, "towards a precipice,

and it will require a good strong arm and a skilful horseman to pull up without a tumble."

A few weeks afterwards, in a letter to Sir George Barlow, he entered upon an elaborate review of the Financial position of the country, and the difficulties and obstructions which impeded his efforts to meet the demands which were made upon the Public Treasury, and to substitute something like order for the confusion in which the accounts were involved. The letter affords so clear an insight into the character of these difficulties, that it would be well to give it with scarcely an erasure:

"MR. TUCKER TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW, BART.

"Calcutta, 12th December, 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,— . . . . I understand that you have begun upon your intended reform; but I fear what has been done, or what can be done immediately, will afford but a very trifling and inadequate relief. Unless the charge of the army can be reduced at least one-fourth at all the three Presidencies, and the charge of the Political Department in a *much* greater proportion, the retrenchments which can be made in the other branches of the service will not be felt, and India will continue, as at present, a heavy charge upon England, instead of contributing to the resources of the empire. The accompanying copy of one of the monthly cash accounts of one of our foreign Residents, will show you to what a height the charges of this department have been carried; and the register of bills drawn by the same Resident, a copy of which is also enclosed, will show the enormous expense incurred in supplying funds for this wasteful disbursement. The sum of 41,985 rupees appears to have been lost in drawing a single bill upon Hyderabad, where the currency is in a most wretched debased state, as you will probably hear in due season from other quarters. I do not mean to say that the charges of the Residency latterly are upon

the same scale; but they are still enormous, and I know not how they can be reduced within moderate bounds but by allowing the Residents a fixed salary to defray *all* personal expenses of every description, in the same manner as is done at Lucknow. The salary of 7000 rupees per month would be ample, I think, for a Resident at a fixed station; and if at any time he should be compelled to move, a fixed allowance (say 1000 rupees per month) might be granted for camp-equipage, &c., contingencies. I know it was your object to accomplish something very like this; but it would be better, I think, to place all the Residencies at once upon the footing of that at Lucknow. Much trouble, too, would be saved; for there would be no occasion to audit their charges, &c.

"You are not aware, perhaps, that the Dawkes at the different Residencies are maintained at a very great expense. Some reform here may be practicable; and a very great reform is necessary in the regulation of the Post Office generally. Nothing can be more lamentable than the manner in which the business of it is conducted at present.

"You have not, I believe, been furnished with any statement of the fixed establishment of the Military Department (the staff, &c.). It may be well, therefore, to call for a copy of the Auditor's abstract statement; as it may appear to you that retrenchments can be made in this department.

"The loan, I am concerned to observe, scarcely produces anything, and I have now abandoned all hope of being able to provide for the deficiency of the year by any means which at present occur to me. The demands from all quarters are immense, and particularly from Bombay, where you will be astonished to hear that their disbursements for military purposes are at present at the rate of 17,00,000 rupees per month, or above 2,00,00,000 rupees per annum. The resources of India cannot possibly support the present charge, nor can we even borrow to the extent of the deficiency. The capital of India, although large, is not at all equal to the supply of the demands which have been made upon it of late: there has been much anticipation, as I have already observed—and now I have some reason to suspect that individuals are withdrawing

their capital, in many instances, from the public funds. This proceeds partly, perhaps, from the apprehension excited by the great depreciation of our currency of late, and the reports of the distress for money experienced all over the country; and partly—but in a less degree—from there being a demand for capital for commercial purposes, the indigo and cotton speculations having been very successful of late.

"The discount on the Treasury-bills rose lately to eleven per cent.; and it is impossible to say where it will stop, or how business can be carried on if it continues. To get rid of it will be a matter of great difficulty, and will require much time; for it is not only established into a habit, but there are many individuals deeply interested (and some, I am sorry to say, most improperly so) in perpetuating it. I shall do all I can to overcome it; but without any prospect of immediate success. The treasure expected from England by the July Fleet will be of great assistance to us; but I have no idea now that it will relieve us from our difficulties, as I once hoped it would have done. Of the extent of these difficulties, I doubt whether you have yet a just conception; but they will force themselves into notice sooner or later. I am not apt to be terrified at distant dangers; but it is the part of prudence to look forward to them, and it is pusillanimity often which makes us shut our eyes upon what we do not wish to see. Judging from present appearances, I think it not only very improbable that we shall be able to provide an investment, even on the smallest scale, in the ensuing year, but I think it doubtful whether we shall have the means of providing for the payment of the army—for the salt and opium advances—and other indispensable disbursements. With all our resources in the three ensuing months, we shall not be able to get rid of the present arrear; and after the month of February our receipts from the land-revenue will be inconsiderable, and we cannot expect to receive specie from any other source. A supply of specie, however, to a certain extent, you must be sensible, is absolutely necessary; and if we cannot procure it, the public service may be completely at a stand, and the most serious mischief may be the consequence. While we continue to be burdened

with a heavy arrear, and while our Treasury-bills remain depreciated, not a rupee in cash will be received from the salt, opium, and other branches of the revenue. The discount on the Treasury-bills has become so serious a charge, that individuals are beginning to have two prices for their goods, according as payment may be made or promised in specie or bills; and a difference of twelve per cent. has been made of late, I understand, between these two rates. Nor is it very surprising, considering all circumstances (our inability to discharge the demands upon us—the manner in which money has been taken up in Oude, &c., &c.), that things should be in their present state. It has been reported among the shroffs here, and it is, I fancy, very generally believed, that Lord Lake has been taking up money for bills on the provincial treasuries at 65 rupees per cent. I, myself, have no information of anything of the kind; and I cannot believe it possible that he can have drawn at such a rate; but, admitting the fact, it will not appear surprising that the public should consider us in the last stage of bankruptcy, and aot accordingly. The idea of preserving credit, or of preserving bread and water for our subsistence under such circumstances, would be romantic in the extreme.

"The Bombay Government have not yet furnished a copy of their annual accounts; but as soon as they are received, I will prepare and submit to you an abstract statement, showing the deficiency upon the Indian Account of Revenue and Charge in 1804-5 and 1805-6, on estimate. It will convince you, I think, that the deficiency is so great as to render it impossible that it should be raised from the capital of this country by any ordinary means. Even in England, where a large proportion of the capital of the whole world centres, there is a limitation to borrowing; and you may perceive, from what has recently transpired, to what difficulties the Government were reduced, and to what objectionable expedients they were obliged sometimes to have recourse, in consequence of the magnitude of the public disbursement. To this day the Bank has not recovered itself; and it is very questionable whether the whole system of our country has not experienced a very injurious change. See

Lord King's pamphlet, and other publications on the same subject.

"*Here* we are, in fact, in a new country, where there is no fictitious capital arising from credit; and it is utterly impossible to raise resources beyond a certain moderate extent. If, therefore, we strain our means, the most serious inconvenience is to be apprehended.

"You will, I fear, suspect that I have a pleasure in dwelling upon this gloomy topic; but I can assure you that the reverse is very much the case. I have thought it my duty to represent our situation to you in what appear to me to be its true colors; and it rests with you to draw just inferences, and to act according to the exigency of the case. The whole weight is upon you—I have no responsibility to apprehend; for if I had, I should consider it necessary to address you publicly on the present state of our affairs, in order that I might not incur censure for improvidence and a want of foresight. I shall not willingly recur to this subject; and I trust that I have said enough to admit of my taking leave of it altogether, otherwise than to submit to you such accounts as may be necessary for your information. . . . .

"Some embarrassment has been experienced also from the base coin issued a year or two ago from the Illahabad Mint, and Government are experiencing a heavy and a constantly recurring loss in consequence. I know not what to recommend to do away the evil; for we are too poor just now to call in the coin. This question was treated with singular neglect, considering the very strong representation which Davis made at the time to Government; and I shall not be surprised if this, among various other matters, should attract the particular notice of the Government at home. The accounts of our military and political expenditure of late, will, I have no doubt, become the subject of inquiry; and this is one motive for my urging on you so strongly the necessity of making every practicable reform with the least possible delay. A still stronger motive, however, arises from the real exigency of the case.

"I was happy to hear, within a few days, that you intended to proceed to the westward; and I am only sorry that you found it necessary to halt at all at Illahabad. I have not said

anything on this subject, because I was ignorant of your reasons for not proceeding further, and I did not suspect that you would have stopped so long at that place. The only reason which I have heard suggested for the delay, was delicacy towards the Commander-in-Chief, whose local authority and influence you did not wish to supersede or interfere with; but this delicacy, I imagine, cannot have been necessary, or have influenced your proceedings in any degree on the occasion.

"Believe me ever, very sincerely, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"13th December, 1805."

This was but a gloomy picture of the existing state of affairs. At the end of the month, however, he wrote somewhat more cheerfully, though still there were great evils to be contended with, and great obstacles to be surmounted. "I have learnt with great satisfaction," he said, in a letter to Sir George Barlow, written on the last day of 1805, "that you are prosecuting your reforms with vigor, and I hope that the early return of the Army to Cantonments will enable you to extend them to those branches of the service where there is most room for reform. At the other Presidencies, also, there is certainly great room for amendment. The enclosed papers from Fort St. George will show you on what ruinous terms they have been raising money of late at that Presidency. The practice of purchasing specie is a miserable expedient indeed; and if entire dependence cannot be placed on the officer employed, it is liable to the greatest abuse. Is it possible that we could have gone on long in the course we have been pursuing for some time past? We have been consuming a moderate revenue in interest, ex-

change, and premiums. The loss incurred on this account is so great, that it will never be believed in England that it can have been incurred without the grossest misconduct on the part of the Government and the public servants. Had the fact been stated to me, I should not have believed it." "But," he added, a little further on, continuing in a more hopeful strain, "if the Commander-in-Chief does not find it necessary to interfere, by drawing or otherwise, I have great hopes that we shall be able, by-and-by, to reduce everything to order, and to make arrangements for applying our resources to our wants in the most advantageous manner. . . . Within a few days we have succeeded in getting down the discount on Treasury-bills to a moderate rate (four or five per cent.); but whether we shall succeed in reducing it further, or how long we shall keep it at this rate, I cannot pretend to say. It had risen to a most alarming height (between eleven and twelve per cent.), and I began to apprehend that an entire stop would be put to all commercial transactions. I shall do everything in my power to support the credit of our currency; but you must be sensible how difficult it will be to accomplish this object, when the Treasury-bills have become quite a matter of traffic, and all those engaged in the traffic have an interest in causing the most violent fluctuations."

"The Loan," he continued, "has produced only about ten or eleven lakhs of rupees; but it has supported the credit of the Public Securities, which

have lately, I am happy to say, experienced a trifling rise. I have encouraged the disposition to rise by making large purchases on account of the Sinking Fund; and if we could but get rid of our present burdensome arrear, I should indulge very sanguine hopes of raising the credit of our paper, and of restoring even the circulation of our Treasury-bills in a short time. Next year, at all events, everything will, I trust, be in a more prosperous state, provided always that you are enabled to effect the extensive reform which I am at present encouraged to expect. If a favorable change be not effected, we shall be very ill-prepared to meet the ten-per-cent. debt, which becomes due this time twelvemonth; but bad as is the present state of affairs, I hope for a great deal from the Future. My best efforts will not be wanting to ensure success."

An opportune arrival of bullion from England in the early part of the year (1806), did much to facilitate the operations of the Accountant-General; and Mr. Tucker, in the month of March, referring especially to this seasonable remittance, wrote to Mr., afterwards Sir George, Robinson, a Director of the East India Company, the following account of the financial prospects of the State:

"MR. TUCKER TO MR. GEORGE ROBINSON.

"Calcutta, 12th March, 1806.

"MY DEAR SIR,—As you feel interested, I am persuaded, in our proceedings in this part of the world, I shall trouble you with a large packet, if the papers can be copied in time for the *Thalia*, for the purpose of showing you how we are going on in the department of finance.

"The large and seasonable supply of bullion just received from England will be of infinite service to us; and I trust that we shall make good use of it. We have been in a most lamentable state of poverty and distress of late; but I flatter myself that the current will soon be turned. If the military establishments be immediately reduced to a proper scale—if we continue at peace—and the Court of Directors continue to assist us with supplies of bullion to a moderate extent, I would be answerable for the speedy re-establishment of our finances, and I should hope to commence a reduction, in a very short time, in the present enormous charge of interest.

"You may be surprised that I should express any doubt with respect to the continuance of peace; but I must confess I have never had any great confidence in our new situation. When things have been so much disturbed as they have been of late, they do not easily settle into order. Our present 'political relations' are not, in my opinion, very well calculated to secure permanent tranquillity.

"You may also be surprised that I should entertain a doubt with respect to the immediate reduction of our military establishments; but although Sir G. Barlow has with heart and soul urged on this reform, little has yet been accomplished. The Irregulars are still an intolerable burden upon us. Great efforts, however, have been made, at great expense, to provide funds for discharging them, as well as all extra military establishments maintained during the war; and if they are *not now discharged*, you will be able to form as accurate a judgment of the reasons as I can pretend to do.

"We are now besieging Gohud, in order, I believe, that we may be in a capacity to deliver over the country which has been ceded by us. Some little loss has been sustained in an attack upon an outpost; but it is expected that we shall soon obtain possession of the place.

"Captain Baillie is engaged in resuming the Joidaad lands in Bundlekund, from which we hope to obtain a considerable increase of revenue. He has gone on successfully hitherto; but I shall not be much surprised if the object should not be accomplished without military operations.

"The army under Lord Lake is still at Delhi, having a considerable detachment in advance at Panniput, under Colonel Burn. This advanced position will be maintained, I believe, until Holkar thinks proper to move on to his own territory. He is at present employed, we hear, in squeezing his friends the Sikhs a little ; and when he may be disposed to leave 'the right bank of the Hyphasis,' it is not very easy to say. I suspect you will be a little surprised in England to find us engaged on the theatre of the Macedonian conqueror. There are not many men whom I will suspect hastily of possessing the enlightened mind and extended views of the son of Philip; but there are a few in camp who might, perhaps, personate him in some other respects, and I am not quite certain that this idea has not occurred to their own minds.

"The Rajpoot Rajahs are about to take up arms for the purpose of deciding their claims to the fair hand of the Princess of Oudipoor ; and as Scindiah feels deeply interested in the question, and Holkar is supposed to be not altogether indifferent to the young lady's fate, hopes may be entertained that she will make a very desirable diversion in our favor. The gallantry of our Alexanders, however, if they were left to themselves, would, I believe, induce them to take a very active part in resolving this connubial difficulty.

"If the Honorable Court of Directors feel any curiosity to ascertain exactly the causes of the present derangement of their affairs, I hope they will refer to Davis, for he will be able to give them full and accurate information, and he is a man who will tell a plain unvarnished tale. I do not, however, despair of overcoming our difficulties in time, as you will perceive from the tenor of my remarks on the Estimate for 1806-7, which I have the pleasure to enclose. There are some reserves and provisos, it is true; but still I have great hopes that we shall succeed ultimately.

"I have nothing to add respecting the estate of poor Lord Cornwallis—nor, indeed, on any other subject which can interest you.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

To carry out such reductions of public expenditure as had been determined upon by Sir George Barlow and Mr. Tucker, without causing much private inconvenience and exciting much personal resentment, was clearly an impossibility. These measures, indeed, were of a character which, looking back at them now, after the lapse of half a century, seems to be so steeped in unpopularity, that if they had been designed for the express purpose of goading into hostility many of the ablest and most influential men in the country, could not have achieved that object with more entire success. It was not only in Lord Lake's Camp that the utmost indignation was excited and the bitterest enmity provoked. There was hardly a native Court, with a Residency or a Commissionership attached to it, in which a group of political officers did not tremble for the security of their old gains, whilst the lavish expenditure in which they had been wont unquestioned to indulge, was now regarded by Government as profligacy, and denounced as a crime. From one end of the country to the other, sinecurists and monopolists were smitten with dismay. There was no longer to be any shelter for idleness; any toleration for extravagance. Every man, who drew the money of the State, was to be expected to work for it. Two men were no longer to be suffered to do the work of one; nor were places to be made, that favored officers might fill them. A general war was to be waged against slothfulness and corruption of all kinds; and the licence of uncontrolled expenditure was thenceforth to be a folly

of the Past. How such stern resolutions as these must have affected vested interests in public extravagance, it is not difficult to conjecture.

A few paragraphs from one of Mr. Tucker's letters, written at this time, will illustrate, better than anything else, the personal bearings of this great question of economical reform. "The expense," he wrote to Sir George Barlow, "of the foreign Residents, Commissioners, &c., has risen to an amount that will astonish you; but I hear that you have placed them all under limitations, and you will not, I am sure, make any exceptions. Malcolm's disbursements are very heavy, and I cannot perceive the necessity or propriety of allowing ten or a dozen of the public servants to support something approaching to a royal state. The establishment of the Governor-General's office may, I think, admit of very great reduction, for a few good writers, I should suppose, would now perform all the duty of it, conducted, as I have no doubt it will be henceforward, on a moderate scale. The voluminous despatches of Lord Wellesley were a great evil, for they not only caused great delay in making very necessary communications, but they were not, I believe, read by half a dozen individuals. The expense of the College should be reduced as much as possible, and all sinecures, such as Provosts, Vice-Provosts, &c., should, I think, be altogether abolished. Great reductions, I should hope, may be made by-and-by in collecting the revenues of the Ceded and Conquered districts; and the Provincial Corps may, perhaps, be dispensed with

hereafter. The Assistant-Judges, I have heard, are, in most instances, if not everywhere, an unnecessary expense. Registers and Assistants might, I think, do the duty perfectly well; and the Judges should be stimulated to greater activity. Some of these extra-Judges, I understand, ridicule the appointment as absolutely useless. There have been some appointments created of late years (the Superintendent of Civil buildings, Assay-Master at Benares, &c., &c.), which, I should suppose, can scarcely be necessary in a time of distress. The Government here might revise all such establishments, and strike off everything superfluous. We shall not too, I hope, have any occasion for establishments on account of the Calcutta Militia. The Commercial Residencies in Oude appear to me to be absolutely useless—at least for the present." "A systematic attention to economy," he added, "should be observed throughout every branch of the public expenditure. The military charge is the great object to be looked to; and even during war much expense may be saved by a strict attention to the manner of providing the army with stores, provisions, &c., through the public agents and contractors." What a blow is here struck at personal interests of all kinds—from those of the lazy sinecurist to those of the greedy contractor!

If such measures had not been unpopular, our Indian officials would have been the most virtuous and self-devoted in the world. But they were grievously unpopular. Never, perhaps, before or after—not even in that second great epoch of econo-

mical reform, when officers of the Indian army evinced their impotent indignation by refusing to dine with Lord William Bentinck—has such a flood of wrath been poured upon a public functionary as now streamed out, primarily against Sir George Barlow, and secondarily against Mr. Tucker. There are broad marks of this extant in the correspondence of the period to which I now refer; but from Tradition it may be gathered that worse things were uttered, even at the dinner-tables of great men, than any that were ever embodied in written words; though in those days much was recorded which, after the unfailing action of time had cooled down their individual resentments, the authors would have blushed to read. I am not passing judgment upon these displays of party and personal hostility. The men who were betrayed into them were not weaker than their brethren. Such infirmity is common to mankind. I only speak of it now, to show that the great work of Reform to which Barlow and Tucker had devoted themselves, was not one without its own peculiar miseries, and that it demanded no small amount of moral courage to prosecute it consistently to the end. Even in these days men may question the wisdom and propriety of some of these individual acts of reform; but looking at the aggregate, it must be admitted that they were necessary. Impartial History cannot refuse to pronounce that they were honestly and manfully carried out. Barlow and Tucker had not a thought beyond the interests of the State. The duty which had devolved

upon them was as painful as it was onerous; and they went through it with the sturdy resolution and self-negation of honest men. And I believe that if their cotemporaries had read, as I have done, all the correspondence which passed between these two public functionaries at this time, they would, in spite of all private inducements to censure and condemn, have regarded with respect the straightforward conduct of the Governor-General and his Minister of Finance. But the exigencies of the occasion were not appreciated. And the motives of the men were not understood. It was natural that in such a conjuncture rash judgments should be passed. It is the great privilege of Honesty to live them down.

In carrying out the details of the measures, which little by little, and almost against the fondest hopes of their projector, had the effect of restoring something like order to our Finances, Mr. Tucker was necessarily brought into collision with members of his own service, for it was his to stimulate the tardy and to reproach the indolent; and more than one revenue-officer at this time received a private hint from the Accountant-General, that if a little more activity were not displayed in the collections, a public reprimand would be the result of his remissness. To one collector he wrote: "You are charged with a most important trust; and much will depend upon your energy and activity. I trust, for your sake and my own, and for the sake of the public service, that you will exert yourself with vigor; for I tell you candidly, and from motives of real good-will towards

you, that if I perceived the least relaxation upon your part, it would be my duty to represent it, that steps might be taken to give effect to the efforts which I have been called upon to make." To another he wrote, in the same strain: "This is a moment when the exertions of every public officer may be of importance to the service; and I trust you will exert yourself, and pay immediate attention to the instructions you receive. I know that I have no right to urge or recommend anything privately to you, or any other public officer; but knowing, as you must, that I can be influenced by none but a good motive, you will, I am persuaded, take what I say in good part; and be better satisfied with my calling your attention to an object of importance in a private letter, than if I had addressed you in my public capacity." Other passages of a similar tendency might be quoted from Mr. Tucker's correspondence with the revenue-officers in the Provinces. "When I inform you," he wrote to them, "that every lakh of rupees which you remit to the army probably puts an end to a monthly expense to an equal amount, you will be able to understand my urgency." This, indeed, was not the least distressing of his duties at this time; but he performed it, not only with temper and moderation, but with such kindness, that it does not appear that the performance, uncompromising as it was, entailed much odium upon him. In estimating, however, the difficulties of Mr. Tucker's position, it should be borne in mind that he was a younger man, and younger in the service, than the majority of

those whose proceedings he controlled, and whose conduct he commented upon; and that he had just been called from the counting-house of a private mercantile firm to take these responsibilities upon him.

I have said that the resolute measures of Barlow and Tucker began in time to develope symptoms of success. As the new year advanced, the financial prospects of the country gleamed more cheerfully upon them; the worst difficulties were surmounted; the crisis was passed; and to the steady action of Time might they now look hopefully for the rest. They had begun by applying desperate remedies to desperate evils. They had sacrificed the Investment, and they had anticipated the Revenue. It was their one great pressing object to obtain ready money; for only by the action of Cash payments at the outset could the great icebergs of difficulty before them effectually be melted away. Debt, indeed, was breeding debt so rapidly, that, as Mr. Tucker truly said, every unpaid lakh of rupees was entailing a monthly cost almost of the same amount—practically, something approaching to an interest of 1200 per cent. Ruinous establishments, for all effective purposes quite unnecessary, were being maintained, simply because an embarrassed Government could not discharge their arrears of pay. Prospective measures of reform were of little use so long as there was no money in the Treasury to give them immediate effect. As with individuals, so is it with Governments, the impoverished and embarrassed cannot afford to retrench. Re-

trenchment, in most cases, involves prompt payment of arrears; and how is this to be accomplished, if there be no money in the Treasury? It was necessarily, therefore, the first care of our administrators in this great conjuncture of 1805-6 to provide ready money for the purposes of the State, even at a great prospective sacrifice, for no sacrifice could be so great as that involved in the continuance of the existing order of things. Cornwallis appropriated to general purposes the money intended for the China investment. And his successor reluctantly consented to measures which were identical with a forestalment of the Revenue. The evils of such a system were apparent; but such was the pressure of the times, that the representations of Lake and Malcolm, though every sound financial theory might be violated by the forestalment, were successful in the end, and an anticipation of the Revenue of the Western Provinces was authorised by Sir George Barlow, with the sanction of his Financial adviser. "I am glad," wrote the latter, "that your arrangements are satisfactory to Lord Lake; but he must not expect us to supply all that may be wished, or all that may be wanted. We will do all that circumstances may admit of, although this, I fear, will fall short of what is required, in a lamentable degree, if great and immediate reductions be not effected. This plan of forestalling is somewhat embarrassing; for it leaves me in some doubt with respect to what may be expected from the future. Lord Lake is an experienced soldier;

and he ought to know that it is not very prudent to lay waste a country, or even to forage in a country, which you have occasion to march through. The anticipation of our Revenue is precisely the same thing,"—"although," added Mr. Tucker, "I am sensible that it may have been entirely justified by the urgency of the case."

Of course, a grand feature in these, as in all other arrangements of embarrassed Governments, was the borrowing of money—or, in technical language, the opening of a loan. "I should borrow," wrote Malcolm* at this time, "two, three, or four crores if necessary, and stop every species of investment, in the full confidence that I was promoting the interests of my country." The stoppage of the Investment was easy; but the borrowing of the four crores was a matter to be talked of at Muttra rather than to be accomplished in Bengal. Money was with difficulty to be obtained from the community at an interest of ten per cent. The capital, indeed,

* It is well known that Malcolm's views were greatly opposed to those of Cornwallis and Barlow; but it is an error to suppose that at this time his opinions found utterance in bitter or disrespectful words, or that he gave practical expression to them by hesitating to carry out their plans of financial reform. Of Lord Cornwallis he wrote, in language of emphatic admiration, as of "a great and good man, who has continued to the last to devote himself to his country." "Few, if any," he continued, "have lived with such honor; no one ever died with more glory." Of Sir George Barlow he wrote, a month afterwards, "I am at a loss to express my gratitude for the very flattering manner in which he has expressed his approbation of my conduct. I shall thank him by my future exertions." "I trust," he continued, "that we shall have the definite treaty signed to-morrow, or next day at furthest. I work at that and the reductions as hard as I can. The latter will be reported on in a few days. They amount to about two lakhs per mensem—and if we can only send Holkar out of the Punjab, or out of the world, the whole of this expense will be done away, and many others."

of the settlement had been forestalled. There was little floating about, seeking public or private investment. Upon such a subject there was no better authority than Mr. Tucker. "The loan proceeds but slowly," he wrote to Sir George Barlow, in the middle of November, "and I am not now at all sanguine that it will succeed to the extent required. In fact, there has been so much anticipation of late, that there is no disposable capital in the market at present, and of this I can form a very good judgment, from what has been done by our own House. We have invested, since the 1st of January last, in the public loans, on account of our friends and ourselves, about thirty-six lakhs of rupees, and Government, within the same period, have borrowed about two crores of rupees. This sum, I think, exceeds the annual accumulation of capital at this Presidency, and a part of it, therefore, must either have been on anticipation, or have been drawn from some other channel—(from the support of commerce)." This seems to be unanswerable. It was easy to talk of borrowing money; but no one had any to lend.

But money for immediate necessities was provided in the manner above described; and an opportune arrival of bullion from England came to the further aid of our financial administrators. In the mean while an able and experienced civil officer was despatched to the Western Provinces to exercise personal superintendence over the monied concerns of the Grand Army. Not one of the least of the evils which had stared the new Accountant-General

in the face on his assumption of office, had been the extreme confusion of the military accounts. At the end of October, 1805, Mr. Tucker was informed by the Military Auditor-General that no account had been received from the Paymaster to Lord Lake's army, since the month of September, 1804.* So gross an evidence of irregularity was fit subject for severe animadversion. Mr. Tucker commented forcibly upon it; but that was not a season in which time or energy could be advantageously expended in reproaches and regrets; so he addressed himself at once to a remedy. "Considering," he wrote, "the great distance of the army from the Presidency—the unsettled state of everything at present in the new territory—the want of experience on the part of those who have been recently introduced into the Pay Department—and the extensive duty to be performed by the public officers here—it appears to me that the superintending Power at the Presidency is not efficient; and that it would be highly desirable to have a strong controlling power on the spot, acting under your immediate authority and direction. I should recommend the appointment of an Auditor and Accountant for the Military Department West of Benares, to continue only until everything is brought into order; and this officer should, of course, act under the Military Regulations at present in force, and report everything regularly to the superintend-

* "Even if we had been galloping after Holkar all the time," wrote Mr. Tucker to Sir George Barlow, "a statement might have been furnished of the money transactions which occurred; but during the last six months, the Army and the Paymaster have been quietly settled in Cantonments."

ing officers at the Presidency, with which he should hold direct correspondence."

"Everything," continued Mr. Tucker, "will depend upon the individual who may be selected for such a duty." He had first thought of Mr. Sherer, a young and promising civil officer, who had early displayed great aptitude for financial business; but the state of his health at that time seemed to render it desirable that his zeal for the public service should not then be taxed by the arduous duties of such an appointment, and Mr. Tucker therefore made another and an equally judicious selection from among his associates in the service. "The man in the whole service," he wrote to the Governor-General, "to whom I should commit the office with the greatest confidence of success, is Richardson. He is acquainted with the duty of a Paymaster; and has had a great deal of experience in the Revenue and Military accounts; but what is of most importance on this occasion is, that he possesses an inflexible firmness of mind, which will enable him to go through with a very arduous, unpleasant duty. There are few men who have zeal and firmness enough to undertake an ungracious, invidious duty from disinterested motives; but Richardson's regard for the public interests, and his friendship for you, would, I am sure, stimulate him to make every possible exertion, and I really do not know a man from whom I should expect so much. . . . . Should any objection occur to this arrangement, I would recommend as an alternative, that Richardson be directed to take charge

of the office of Paymaster in the Field, in order that he may bring up the accounts which are in arrear, and place everything in proper train. This is essential, at all events. Richardson will not, I am persuaded, like either duty, for his wishes are all directed to the Political Department; but I am convinced, at the same time, that he will be ready to sacrifice his own inclination and convenience to promote the public service. You will not suspect me of an interested recommendation on this or any other occasion; for I never was a jobber, or indeed a suitor, in my life."

The arrangement here suggested was approved by the Governor-General; and Mr. Richardson was despatched to join the Grand Army. Vested with large powers to supply Lord Lake with necessary funds, and to control generally the financial affairs of the Army, he executed his appointed task with all the zeal and ability that were expected from him; and the best results attended this important innovation upon a defective and disastrous system. There had, hitherto, been a grievous want of order and regularity in the management of the pecuniary concerns of the Army; and good management is often as serviceable as much thrift. Now, not only was new vigor infused into the department, but there was for the first time effective supervision on the spot. The work of the Army, too, was done. As the new year dawned upon India, Peace began to dawn with it. The Army was to be broken up; its arrears were to be paid; and Mr. Richardson

was there to see that the public money was profitably expended. For immediate purposes, as I have shown, cash had been supplied; and now the whole machinery of Finance was regularly set a-going. It needed, indeed, only that a good beginning should be made—that the difficulty should be looked boldly in the face, and that the onward progress of extravagance and ruin should be resolutely arrested. With every new week appeared some new symptoms of revival. The accounts from the other Presidencies continued to improve. And before it was announced in letters from England, which took most people by surprise, that Sir George Barlow, to whom the succession to the Governor-Generalship had been promised, was to be superseded by an English nobleman, the peril was surmounted; the great work was done.* The energy and resolution which had been exhibited at the right moment, were attended with results beyond the expectations of the most sanguine; and Lord Minto entered upon his government with little to embarrass his movements, or to perplex his judgment. That the precipitate abandonment of the "great game" in the North-West was not productive of after-results both embarrassing and perplexing, I am not prepared to show. I have nothing,

* On the 28th of August, 1806, Sir G. Barlow recorded a minute, in which he says: "The present state of the Finances of the Honorable Company in India, together with the several arrangements which Mr. Tucker has suggested for their improvement, will manifest that the public interests have derived very important benefits from his able and zealous exertions in the conduct of the business of the department under his immediate superintendence."

indeed, to do with the solution of that question. This is a chapter only in the Financial History of India; a chapter that has never yet been written—but one which is most necessary to a right comprehension of the Annals of a most eventful epoch. It is not because I am engaged on this Biography that I aver, that no History of India can be complete without a record of these Financial measures, or a just tribute to the exertions of Henry St. George Tucker.*

* The correspondence between Sir George Barlow and Mr. Tucker, in the years 1805-6, the whole of which is now before me, is so voluminous, that I have been necessitated to reject very much which would have illustrated the events narrated in this chapter, and greatly enhanced its historical value. This is much to be regretted, because the more minutely it is studied, the more impressed will the student be with a conviction both of the necessity of the measures and the integrity of the men.

CHAPTER VII.

The Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces—The Special Commission of 1807—Mr. Tucker's Appointment—His Colleagues—Duties of the New Commission—Their Reception in Upper India—Mr. Tucker's Report.

UNDER the administration of Lord Wellesley the dominions of the East India Company had been greatly extended. The Ceded districts of Oude, and the Conquered provinces wrested from the Mahrattas, had so swollen our Eastern Empire as to demand a large accession of administrative agency and administrative skill. The country which we had acquired by our diplomacy and by our arms was now to be governed for the benefit of the Company and the benefit of the People. A great Revenue was to be raised; and a great Nation was to be protected. Now that the clang of arms no longer drowned the counsel of the statesman, it was a matter of primal concernment so to settle these North-Western Provinces as to render our accession of territory advantageous alike to the British Government and the people whom we had subdued.

Even whilst the measures for the extrication of the British-Indian Empire from the financial em-

barrassments which threatened to overwhelm it, were in progress under the supervision and superintendence of Barlow and Tucker, this great subject of the revenue-settlement of the North-West had been under their consideration; and before the close of the year 1805, the Governor-General had written to his Finance Minister: "When you succeed to a seat at the Board of Revenue, you must turn your mind immediately to the forming of the next settlement for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. It will require a year or more to collect the necessary accounts and information for making the settlement properly; and there is no time to be lost in laying the foundations of this important measure." Sir George Barlow knew that in Mr. Tucker he had a man to whom he could safely entrust this important duty; and his successor saw, with the same clear vision, the expediency of availing himself of the services of an administrator in whom soundness of judgment and energy of action were eminently combined.

In February, 1806, Mr. Tucker had been appointed a member of the Board of Revenue. To the general subject of Indian taxation, from his very boyhood he had devoted much earnest reflection, and the weight of his opinions was acknowledged by all his official colleagues. From his correspondence at this period something may be gathered respecting the light in which he regarded the existing mode of raising the necessary revenue. The following letter to Captain Baillie, who was

then in political charge of our new districts in Bundlekund, glances at so many important questions within so small a space, that, before passing on to the substantive matter of this chapter, I am tempted to insert it here:

"MR. TUCKER TO CAPTAIN BAILLIE.

"Calcutta, 4th October, 1806.

"MY DEAR BAILLIE,—Many thanks for your favor of the 13th ultimo, and for your early notice of my public application to you. The information you have furnished is all very satisfactory; but have you not estimated the whole revenue of 1214 as receivable within the year of account 1806-7 (or before the 30th of April next), while a proportion of that revenue must necessarily fall into the ensuing year? On the presumption that this was the case, I have ventured to deviate from your estimate.

"I am very glad to hear that you are so rich in mines and in other valuables, and I trust that you will be able to give a good account of them. We should not, in my opinion, be in a hurry to harass the country with customs, or any other *new* taxes; and I have long considered the abolition of the syer, a tax to which the people were familiarised, a very hasty measure. A tax even objectionable in principle, when once established and accommodated to a country, may be much less injurious than a new tax, to which the same objection may not apply; and in this country, where your inferior officers are so little to be relied upon, all new impositions are especially to be avoided. I have no time, however, just now for discussing the principles of taxation. I shall be glad always to hear from you, and to receive information on all subjects connected directly or indirectly with our public duties; and you may rely that I will make the best use of it I can. You will not, I hope, be discouraged from continuing your communications should I not immediately acknowledge them; for I am not always master of my own time—indeed, I am seldom master of it. With respect to saltpetre, I have only

to observe, that if anything can justify a monopoly, the circumstances which you urge appear to render a direct interference on the part of Government highly expedient. I, myself, am a decided enemy to commercial restrictions; and I think that a great Government ought to engage as little as possible (if at all) in commercial transactions, and particularly petty transactions. I approve of the opium monopoly, because it enables us to draw a large revenue from a foreign country; of the salt monopoly, because it is a very productive tax, without being attended with personal oppression, because it is paid voluntarily according to the means of the consumer, and because I know no other tax equally productive and less objectionable which could be substituted for it. In the same manner, if a monopoly of saltpetre could be managed without oppression and injustice, and could be made conducive to the preservation of domestic tranquillity, I shall consider it an admirable tax, and it will have my warmest support.

"Believe me, yours very sincerely,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

There is no task, indeed, more worthy of the best efforts of the philanthropist—no task that demands for its due performance a larger amount of administrative capacity than the revenue-settlement of a new country. It is so great a work, indeed, and one that requires a combination of so many rare qualities, that it can seldom be entrusted with safety to a single man. At all events, Lord Wellesley, writing prospectively of the settlement of the country on the banks of the Jumna, recorded his opinion that such researches as it was necessary to institute "must be entrusted to the best principles and the best talents." "And," he added, "as the variety of talents requisite for a successful prosecution of divers inquiries may not often be eminently pos-

sessed by one and the same person, it may perhaps be found advisable to select two or three of our most intelligent servants to act together in each quarter." These opinions were shared by Sir George Barlow; and accordingly, in the month of June, 1807, a Commission was appointed, charged with the important duty of inquiring into the condition of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and reporting upon the system of internal administration best adapted to the requirements of the people.

Mr. Cox* and Mr. Tucker were nominated Commissioners.† Mr. Sherer was appointed Secretary to the Commission; Mr. Fortescue, Assistant-Secretary; and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Interpreter.

With the full approbation of his brother-commissioner, Mr. Tucker, in the first instance, had designed the Secretaryship for Mr. Charles Metcalfe—then a young man of great promise, whose high qualities were recognised alike by his cotemporaries and his seniors in the service. But Metcalfe had chalked out for himself a career in another line. He had made his election in favor of Political‡ employment; and the predilections, which were first generated by early ambition, had been subsequently strengthened by the experiences of a stirring life in

* This gentleman had been Accountant-General prior to Mr. Tucker's first tenure of office; and subsequently a member of the Board of Revenue.

† Shortly before this, Sir George Barlow had offered Mr. Tucker the office of Head-Commissioner at Madras to inquire into the debts of the Nabob of Arcot; but Mr. Tucker was unwilling to quit Bengal, and he declined the appointment.

‡ The English reader must bear in mind, that in Indian official language *Political* means *Diplomatic*.

Lord Lake's camp. He was unwilling, therefore, to connect himself, in so decisive a manner, with the Revenue branch of the Administration; and he would probably have declined the offer if it had been formally made to him by Government. But he thoroughly appreciated the compliment, and he wrote to his friend Mr. Sherer, on whom the appointment was subsequently conferred, explaining the grounds of his disinclination to accept it. "By-the-by," he wrote, "Tucker will doubtless have mentioned to you what I read in a letter from him to Richardson, that at first, with the assent of Cox, he had proposed to Sir George Barlow, through Lumsden, my appointment as Secretary to the Commission. Of course, at that time, he could not have expected that the Secretary's office would be put on so respectable a footing. He could have had no idea that the Government would spare you, Bayley, and Fortescue; otherwise he would never, it is clear, have thought of me. I will tell you the effect that this had on my mind, when Richardson sent me Tucker's letter—I must observe that Tucker wrote just after Lumsden left him to carry the proposition to the Governor, and therefore could give no hint of the result—I was of course flattered by the circumstance, and obliged to Tucker; but I wished that he had not made the proposal, and I did not like the thought of getting so deep into the Revenue line and so far from the Political. I did not know which I should do, if any reference were made to me, as on the one hand to give up a

favorite line, and on the other, to reject so respectable a situation, likely to be attended with considerable advantages, would be, either way, difficult. My hope was that Government, without any reference to me, would make its own arrangement, excluding me, and so relieve me from the responsibility of guiding my own destiny. The sight of your appointment was the first, and is the only intelligence which I have yet received; and, besides the pleasure of seeing your appointment to a post which I thought would be pleasing to you, I felt on my own account great relief. Although I am obliged to Tucker for thinking of me, I am glad, on many accounts, that the present capital arrangement has taken place." After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century it again fell to the lot of Henry St.George Tucker to recommend Charles Metcalfe for a situation. As Chairman of the East India Company he recommended him for the situation of Governor-General of India.

On the 25th of June Mr. Tucker quitted Calcutta, on his journey to the Upper Provinces. The appointment possessed peculiar advantages, which he well knew how to appreciate, and he quitted the Presidency in high health and spirits. A little before his departure he wrote to his sister, speaking of the prospects before him, and showing the cheerful temper with which he regarded them:

"*Calcutta, June* 15, 1807.—In the midst of bustle and preparation for a long journey, I must still write you a line to assure you that I am perfectly well, and as happy as I can reasonably

expect to be in a life which admits not, I believe, of perfect happiness. I set off in the course of ten days on a deputation to the Western Provinces, for the purpose of superintending the settlement of our new territory. The duty will be troublesome and laborious, as we shall have an immense tract of country to put into order; but the appointment is most respectable, and as I am accustomed to labor, as our party (consisting of some of my most intimate friends) will be a very pleasant one, and we shall have to travel over the finest country in India, I am quite reconciled to the expedition; indeed, I am more than reconciled—I am quite pleased at the idea of penetrating to the very sources of the sacred Ganges, and of picking strawberries on hills which are familiar with ice and snow. This would be no novelty to you; but it will be a very great one to me, who have not seen a strawberry-bush for one-and-twenty years. I shall be employed on this duty, probably, for eighteen months or two years; and on my return to Calcutta I shall be thinking of proceeding homewards, to pass the remaining years which fate may have allotted to me, in retirement and tranquillity. At least, I hope that I may be permitted to enjoy both, after having devoted so many years to severe and incessant labor. My fortune by that time will be equal to all my wishes, which are moderate enough. I have already, indeed, an independence, sufficient to enable me to retire at any time; but it is as well to have something more than enough, and on this idea I shall remain in India two years longer. In January or February, 1810, Heaven willing! I shall bid adieu to India for ever; and, in the ordinary course of events, I may expect to have the happiness of seeing you all in about three years from the present time. It is a long period to look forward to, I own; and after so many disappointments, I ought not to be sanguine in my expectations; but I will flatter myself that there is some happiness in store for me, and that I shall at last reach the haven to which I have so long and so anxiously directed my course.

"Say everything kind and affectionate for me to our respected parents; for, unless the packet be detained, I shall not be able to write to them."

The circumstances under which this important Commission was appointed, were many years afterwards thus detailed by Mr. Tucker himself. "In 1803," he said, "during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, a Regulation was passed (XXV. of that year), declaring, that a permanent settlement of the Ceded Provinces would be concluded at the end of ten years, for such lands as should be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation; and further proclaiming the 'proprietary rights of all Zemindars, Talookdars, and other descriptions of landholders possessing a right of property in the lands, composing their zemindarries, talooks, or other tenures, *to be confirmed and established under the authority of the British Government*, in conformity to the laws and usages of the country, and to the regulations which have been, or shall be hereafter enacted by the Governor-General in Council.' It was also provided by the same Regulation, that those Zemindars who might decline to enter into engagements for their lands, should be allowed 'Nankar' not exceeding ten per cent. on the Jumma of their estates. In 1805, a Regulation (IX. of that year) was passed by the same Government in nearly corresponding terms; declaring that a permanent settlement would be concluded with the Zemindars and other landholders in the Conquered Provinces, at the expiration of the decennial leases. But in 1807, the Supreme Government being anxious to extend to the landowners of our newly-acquired territory those advantages which had been

conferred on the Zemindars of the Lower Provinces, by fixing the land-tax in perpetuity, Regulation X. of that year was enacted, appointing Commissioners for superintending the settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; and notifying 'to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in those provinces, that the Jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement, shall remain *fixed for ever*, in case the Zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Honorable Court of Directors."

That it was the intention of Lord Wellesley, of Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto, to introduce the Permanent Settlement into the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, is not to be doubted. It is equally a fact that the Commission which was despatched to Upper India in 1807 was instructed to adopt measures for the furtherance of its introduction. There were few more consistent supporters of the Permanent Zemindarry Settlement than Mr. Tucker. But he did not at that time conceive that our newly-acquired territory was ripe for such an adjustment of the landed revenue. He believed that our information was deficient; and that great injustice would be the result of the precipitate introduction of a system, the very name of which implied a necessity for the extremest caution and the most elaborate preparation. Such a settlement ought

ever to be based upon a careful ascertainment of existing rights—and how could these rights be ascertained in a day? So reasoned Mr. Tucker and his associates; and the further they advanced in their inquiries, the more apparent it was that it was their duty to promise a Permanent Settlement to the landholders—not immediately to declare it as the law of the land.*

So they went on from Station to Station, gathering information as they went—seeking the opinion of all the principal revenue-officers on their line of route; and not confining themselves (for indeed the objects of the Commission were not solely of a fiscal character) to inquiries respecting the landed tenures or the general taxation of the country. Whatever related to the prosperity of the country and the protection of the people, came within their sphere of observation — Judicial and Police establishments, Public works and other great agencies for the amelioration alike of the moral and physical condition of the inhabitants—races of men then believed to

* Very many years afterwards, Mr. Tucker, referring to this period of his early history, placed on record a clear exposition of his course of conduct as a member of the Commission. "I was appointed in 1807," he wrote, "to carry into execution a measure which successive administrations had considered to be essential to the prosperity of the country. Although concurring most unreservedly in the opinion that it was wise and salutary, and that it contained a vital principle, which must in the end work out all the good anticipated, I ventured to counsel delay, upon the ground that we were not at the moment in a state of preparation to consummate so great an undertaking; but it never occurred to my mind that the principle of the measure was to be abandoned, or that the landholders, who had received from us the most solemn pledge given in the most authentic form, were to be denied for ever the promised benefit, and that in the end they were to be cast aside as a mere eucumbrance on the earth. That pledge can never be effaced, although it remains unfulfilled."

be "unaccustomed to any regular system of order or law, and habituated to commit the utmost excesses of violence and oppression"—came within their scope, and were duly included in their official reports.

The trade of the Provinces—the reform of the Customs — the superintendence of the Mint and Coinage—were matters, also, to which they were instructed to address themselves—and it would have been difficult to find in the whole range of the service a little cluster of men so eminently qualified, alike by their peculiar antecedents and their peculiar abilities, to carry out the intentions of the Government which appointed them.

Mr. Cox and Mr. Tucker,* it need not be said, had both been Accountant-General. Mr. Sherer had been Deputy-Accountant-General and Civil-Auditor. He owed his advancement, in no small measure, to Mr. Tucker, under whom, indeed, as he delighted to acknowledge, he had graduated as a Financier. It was mainly the circumstance of the Commission having been instructed to inquire into the Commerce and the Coinage of Upper India that induced him to accept the Secretaryship. Mr. Tucker had mentioned to him that he had recommended Metcalfe for the office, and subsequently, since that appointment could not take place (for reasons known neither to Sherer nor to Metcalfe), mentioned to him the name of another officer who

* Mr. Tucker, it should be said, was the working Commissioner. He did all the more active part of the business ; and drew up the reports.

had applied for the situation. It was admitted that the applicant had no peculiar qualifications for such an office. "But," said Mr. Tucker, "it does not much matter. He is a quiet, gentlemanlike man; and as to business, I shall work hard myself. With Metcalfe, indeed, it would have been a different thing. He might relieve me of a great deal of trouble, and be of essential service to me." Nothing more took place at the time. "But, a few days afterwards," wrote Mr. Sherer, "we were again conversing on the general object of this Commission, when I found that it was by no means to be limited to the settlement of the Land-Revenue, but was meant to embrace an inquiry into the Trade of the Provinces, a reform of the Customs, a superintendence of the Mint and Coinage, &c., &c. Now, having been for some months a member of the Mint Committee at Calcutta, the subject of coinage had occupied a good deal of my attention, and I began to fancy that I knew something about it. I had also had a good deal of talk with Tucker of late on the subject of Trade, and become very anxious to possess the means of acquiring some practical knowledge of a subject so intimately connected with my profession. I had hoped to get some little insight into the various modes of employing commercial capital in this country by my situation in the Bank, but had been disappointed. This conversation, therefore, had peculiar charms for me, and in the course of it so many things occurred to fire my imagination and excite a desire to go with the Com-

mission, that I at length burst into an exclamation to that effect. The wish was no sooner formed than I was ready for its accomplishment. Tucker thought it feasible; and recommended me to apply directly to Sir George Barlow." And so the application was made, and it was granted—but grudgingly by the Governor-General; for Sherer's services could not well be spared from the Department to which he belonged. The flattering hesitation was overcome; and the Civil-Auditor, still retaining his appointment at the Presidency, joined the Commission, to the great satisfaction of all who were attached to it. He was a very able and a very amiable man; something, perhaps, of an enthusiast, but always in the right direction; and it is not a little to his honor that he was the cherished friend of three such men as Charles Metcalfe, Butterworth Bayley, and Henry St.George Tucker.

The hospitality of the English residents, all along their route, was most cordially extended to them. The first part of the journey had been performed by water. They had proceeded up the river as far as Furruckabad, halting at the principal stations on the way. "You will be glad," wrote one of the party, at the end of August, "to hear that we have been well received at every station we have stopped at. At Benares, Tucker spent a week in Mr. Brooke's family, and, indeed, was detained there so long by the solicitude shown by every one to entertain us. We have had a sad, tedious time of it since we left Benares (on the 2nd of August)—the

wind having been so high and adverse, and the stream so uncommonly rapid, that we have been creeping on at the rate of a few *coss* a day only. To Benares we had been fortunate enough, for we left Calcutta on the 29th of June, and arrived there on the 27th of July, after stopping to see everything worth seeing on the way up. We shall disembark, I believe, at Furruckabad, and after doing what we may have to do there with the Mint, shall proceed to Bareilly, thence to Mooradabad, Saharunpore, and so down by the way of Delhi to Alighur and Agra." A few days afterwards, Mr. Tucker himself wrote, in one of his letters to England, similar complaints of the tediousness of the journey: "We have had a tedious and unpleasant journey, and the heat has been excessive. We shall, however, I hope, get to the end of it in ten or twelve days (at least the water-part of our expedition), and we flatter ourselves that the pleasure of travelling by land in a fine season will compensate for all the inconveniences of travelling by water at a very unfavorable one. This is the usual course of life. We go on to the conclusion of it, expecting always that the Future will make amends for the Past. . . . . B—— will tell you that I talk of paying you a visit; and if I were not in so respectable a situation, I should think seriously of it. This circumstance, and some little difficulties which at present oppose my wishes, will probably detain me in the country two or three years longer; but my expatriation cannot exceed that period. In the society of my family,

I hope to enjoy a few years of tranquillity and comfort, after a life which has had little to distinguish it but a succession of toilsome and uneasy struggles." It is no small proof that the wearisomeness of the river-voyage, the inactive life, and the incessant heat, had greatly affected both his health and his spirits, that one of so eminently cheerful a disposition should write in such a strain as this.

But the river-journey accomplished—the hot season passed—and the little party once fairly launched upon the scene of their labors, the unusual depression of spirits under which Mr. Tucker had suffered in his boat, was very soon dissipated by the pleasing excitement of a new life in a new country. Many objects of extreme interest presented themselves to the members of the Commission at every stage. Nature and Art revealed to them beauties unknown, almost unimagined, by those who had hitherto been familiar only with the comparative insipidity of the plains of Bengal and Behar. The majestic scenery of Upper India, and the stately architectural monuments of the Moguls, appealed irresistibly to the sensitive temperaments of more than one of these accomplished travellers. Mr. Tucker used to relate how the exquisite beauty of the Taj of Agra affected Sherer to such a degree, that he prostrated himself before it and kissed the ground in an ecstasy of delight; and long years afterwards, when Indian pilgrimages were no more than dim recollections of the Past, though the old enthusiasm was not yet quenched within him, the sometime Secretary wrote

to Mr. Tucker, reminding him of those "light-hearted days." "The beautiful and sublime scenery of North Wales," said Mr. Sherer, "is, indeed, truly enchanting; and my occasional rambles on the mountains recall to my mind those light-hearted days, when, as your unworthy Secretary, I was so delighted with the hills and scenery still more sublime at Hurdwar."

But they had other work than this to occupy their minds and to exercise their bodies—the strenuous realities of the new Commission. And they set about it with becoming zeal. It soon, however, became evident to them that they would "not be able to superintend the formation of the settlement in person throughout the several districts of the Ceded and Conquered Territory." "It was scarcely possible to traverse this extensive country within the season which admits of travelling in tents; while, to form the assessment on the spot, and to obtain engagements from the numerous Malguzars, several months must have been dedicated to the business of a single district. It became necessary, therefore, to commit the execution of this duty to the local officers, and for the Commissioners to direct their attention to those general objects on which they could hope to employ themselves with more effect."*

Having thus wisely resolved not to attempt what was plainly impossible, by entering into minute details which would have embarrassed their operations and rendered the result of the Commission a

* Report of the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, dated April 13, 1808.

mere nullity, they set about the possibilities before them with all earnestness and activity, and relied upon the local officers for the local information they required. They took, as it were from a tower of observation, an extended view of the country which lay stretched beneath them, and they garnered up a great store of general truths of the most serviceable kind. It would not have been possible for them to have carried to their work fewer prejudices and foregone conclusions—to have entered upon it in a more enlarged spirit of toleration, or with a more genuine desire to turn their opportunities to the best account for the benefit of the people. They were not mere system-mongers. They did not go there to skim the surface of the country on a pleasure-progress, and then to declare that the people wanted nothing but British rule to make them happy and prosperous. They saw, and they admitted, that there had been some good things even in Mogul government, and they did not deny that there might be, in spite of all our kind professions and our good intentions, some evils in the change of sovereignty which we had inflicted upon them. Convinced, too, as they were, of the benefits which had been conferred upon Bengal by the Regulations of 1793, they were by no means prepared to prescribe them as a panacea for all the maladies of Upper India. They saw that they had to deal with a different race of men, and that different institutions were existing among them. They saw that there were conflicting claims to be reconciled, and that any undue eagerness to recognise the rights

of one class might be attended with injustice to another. They went about, therefore, seeking information; not merely from our own local officers and their native subordinates, but from the people themselves, high and low—from the great landholder to the petty cultivator; and the more they acquired, the more convinced they were that they had much more to acquire, and the more clearly they saw the necessity of much caution and longer delay.

And, therefore, they counselled delay. But it was not done without reluctance — reluctance, which had they seen far into the future, and anticipated the eventual results of the postponement, would have been even stronger than it was. "When we reflect," they said, "that the miseries of famine have, perhaps, been arrested in Bengal, by the lamented patriot who gave the Permanent Settlement to that country, we feel the utmost repugnance at the idea of opposing its extension to our new possessions. But Bengal is different in many particulars. The land is more easily cultivated, and is fertilised by a periodical inundation; water is easily procured. Wells, reservoirs, and aqueducts are unnecessary; and a large capital is seldom required for agricultural purposes. The inferior landholders, and even the peasantry, can carry on the cultivation of their lands without those aids which must be furnished to secure the prosperity of the Western Provinces. But above all, we were in every respect better prepared in Bengal to undertake a measure, which at a future period we shall gladly see extended to the rest of our possessions."

It is not to be doubted that there is wisdom in this. But the "future period" at which the Permanent Settlement was to be extended to the North-Western Provinces, Mr. Tucker never lived to see. It was his recommendation on the part of the Commission, "that the Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered districts be for the present postponed"—"that the ensuing settlement be concluded for a period of four years; and that during the interval a reference be made to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of obtaining their authority for the formation of a Permanent Settlement unconditionally at a future period—that during the same interval, the attention of the public officers be particularly directed to the important duty of collecting materials which may form the basis of a fixed assessment; and with this view the Collectors who have distinguished themselves by their successful exertions in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, be continued in their present situations, and be remunerated by larger allowances, rather than by promotion to higher offices."

It is beyond the scope of this work to enter largely into the history of the landed Revenue of India, or even that particular branch of the subject, which is known as the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces. But before closing this notice of Mr. Tucker's connexion with the Commission of 1807, it may be mentioned that the report which he drew up, in the early part of the following year, was less pleasing to the Supreme Government than it was to the Court of Directors. "Allowing,"

wrote the former, "to Mr. Cox and to Mr. Tucker all possible credit for the motives by which they were influenced in the discussion of the subject, and for the ability with which they have treated it, their report has not occasioned any alteration in the sentiments which we before entertained with respect to the immediate establishment of a Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces." But the latter subscribed to the opinions of the Commissioners. The delay was granted. Further information was sought. As time advanced, the policy of the proposed measure was freely canvassed. A strong party grew up in the India House opposed to all permanent settlements; and at last the project of their extension to the North-Western Provinces was shelved. The result of much inquiry and much discussion was, after all, a system of long leases, upon which the Revenue administration of Upper India is now based. But Mr. Tucker never ceased to declare that this was a fatal error, and that the British Government had been guilty of a gross breach of faith in refusing to fulfil the pledges which doubtless it had authoritatively made to the people.*

* The experiences gained by Mr. Tucker, during this tour, were often spoken of by him in after-years; and he delighted to dwell on the circumstances attending it. One characteristic illustration of this may be given here. Moving through the country, not with the lavish magnificence, or as it was commonly called the "great style," which had characterised all the official movements of Lord Wellesley's administration, but still with a prestige of authority around them, the Commissioners were everywhere regarded with curiosity and received with respect; and small as was their camp, and inconsiderable as was the *cortége* that attended them, Mr. Tucker was not without considerable apprehension that his followers still harassed the people

of the villages through which he passed by unauthorised exactions in his name. Very many years afterwards, when Chairman of the East India Company, and writing on the subject of Governors' Visitation-Tours, he spoke of the unauthorised exactions of the followers of men in authority, and thus alluded to the circumstances of his progress through the North-Western Provinces:—"I believe I may say that no person could be more unwilling than myself to countenance or permit oppression or injustice; but I am far from being satisfied that much wrong may not have been committed in my name, when I made a tour of the Western Provinces just forty years ago. Our camp did not, I believe, with our escort, exceed 400 or 500 men; but this *cortége*, moderate as it was, when compared with a Vice-Regal movement, was large enough to levy contributions from the country. I made an example of two of my servants at an early period; but I am not sure that their successors were more trustworthy."

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Tucker's Resignation of the Commissionership—His Return to Calcutta—Letters to his Family—Projected Visit to England—Appointment to the Secretaryship in the Public Department—Death of his Father; of his two Brothers—Letters to his Sister and Mother—Embarkation for England—Public Testimonials.

But advantageous as in many respects was Mr. Tucker's situation at this time, and pleasant as were all its social environments, it had one very heavy drawback. He found that the climate of the Upper Provinces was detrimental to his health. That Upper India is more salubrious than the low steamy plains of Bengal, is a fact that all experience verifies. But the Commissioners had started at too early a season; and Mr. Tucker had left behind him his spacious residence in the City of Palaces for the oppressive confinement of the Budgerow and the Palanquin. If he had started in November the result would have been different. But starting, as the Commissioners did, in June, the fiery climate of Upper India seems to have done its work upon them. Before the end of the year—1807—Mr. Cox had quitted the Commission; and early in the following year Mr. Tucker forwarded an application

to Government for leave to be absent from his office for the space of three or four months, intimating, at the same time, that if his request were denied, he must solicit to be relieved from his appointment.

The permission which he sought was refused. Lord Minto's official answer was a courteous denial. In the public letter which was returned, Mr. Tucker's claims "to consideration, from his talents, knowledge, and services," were fully recognised; but Government at the same time expressed its "regret that any circumstances should be in the way to prevent compliance with his request, or that anything should have arisen to deprive Government of his services in the settlement of the Provinces; but as his request could not be granted without the most serious inconvenience, his appointment was cancelled."

So Mr. Tucker returned to Calcutta—much sustained by the thought of a speedy visit to England. "I came down to Calcutta," he wrote to his sister at the latter end of April, "almost determined to go to England. The heat of the Western Provinces I could not bear; and I am sufficiently tired of the country altogether. The favorable season, however, has passed away; and I fancy I must remain here some time longer. Do not be surprised, however, if I should suddenly make my appearance among you, some 'beau matin.' I am still in doubt whether I shall not take my passage with Captain Marshall in the *Diana*, which will sail a month or

two hence. There are so many objections, however, that I feel a difficulty in deciding. My fortune is very moderate; it is not yet at my own command; and to render it equal to all my occasions, I ought to remain in the country two or three years longer. I shall consider a little longer, and decide ultimately, I hope, for the best."

He considered, and he decided. He considered all the bearings of the case, and he decided not to return to England. The sacrifice of his heart's desires was great. He had been, for some years, intent upon the thought of a speedy return to England, and he had buoyed himself up with the belief that this great object would be accomplished. But he was not a man to think only of himself. There were others whose happiness he might increase by protracting the period of his exile. The Governor-General had held out to him an assurance of honorable employment;* and little as he cared, for his own sake, to increase his worldly store, he thought that for the sake of others it behoved him to make further sacrifice of his ease and pleasure. So, in September, he wrote to his friends in England: "I cannot immediately leave the country without injury to my affairs; and I am afraid that I ought

* In the letter quoted above, Mr. Tucker says: "Lord Minto has treated me with great personal kindness and attention; and although my present appointment is barren of all profit, I am persuaded that I shall obtain from him everything I can expect or wish, the moment an opportunity occurs of providing for me better. Whether it is worth while to wait is the question which I find it so difficult to decide." The barren appointment to which allusion is here made was that of a supernumerary member of the Board of Revenue.

not to leave it for a year or two to come. Lord Minto has held out to me every possible inducement to remain here; and although I am most anxious to return to England as soon as possible, the regard which is due to others will perhaps determine me to remain in India a couple of years longer. My circumstances are so circumscribed that it will not be in my power to assist all the many members of our numerous family who require assistance; and to see them distressed without the power of assisting them would be distressing to myself. If the Secretary, Mr. Brown, should go home, Lord Minto has promised me the succession; and the situation is so respectable, and the allowances are so handsome, that I fear I should have cause to reproach myself hereafter if I neglected such an opportunity of improving my fortune. It may induce me to stay a year or two longer in the country; but nothing else can, I think, delay my departure after the month of February."

In December, he wrote again to his sister on the same subject. A little while before, he had received the sad tidings of the death of his excellent father,* whom he had not seen face to face since his early boyhood in Bermuda; but the recollection of whom he had cherished with the greatest fondness, and to the happiness of whose declining years he had earnestly longed to contribute from his own abundance. The blow smote him to the heart. It had, in

* On the 3rd of February, 1808, in the 66th year of his age.

all his thoughts of home, and all his communings with his family, been a sustaining reflection, that "the old man of whom ye spake he is yet amongst you," and now those grey hairs had gone down to the grave. None but the wifeless and the childless, who have toiled on through weary years of exile, solaced and supported by the thought of paying back for the parental tenderness of old the meet reward of filial devotion, can know the full extent of such an affliction as this. How deeply Mr. Tucker felt the blow may be gathered from his letters to his sister:

"*Calcutta*, 22*nd Sept.*, 1808.—I did not receive any letter from you, my dearest sister, by the April Fleet; but I can easily conceive the grief which afflicted your heart, and how painful it must have been to you to write under such circumstances. I feel it myself at the present moment; but still, I should be wanting in what I owe you, if I allowed my own feelings to operate on such an occasion. Before this letter can reach you, the sharp sense of this severe affliction will, I trust, have been weakened. In my mind the impression is still fresh; and it is a misfortune which I must ever feel and deplore. Let me not, however, renew in your heart feelings which I hope are already less poignant. Time soothes the most bitter sorrows, or nature must sink under the afflictions to which we are exposed. Take care of our poor afflicted mother, and alleviate her grief as far as possible. Would that it were permitted me to assist in offering her consolation! . . . . ."

"*Calcutta*, 17*th Dec.*, 1808.—I wrote to you under date the 22nd Sept., by the *Preston;* and I believe I gave you reason to expect that about this time I should be embarking for England. I had so determined; but we can never be certain of what is to happen, even at the distance of a few hours. I had taken my passage in the *William Pitt*, with my friends the Fendalls, and was fully resolved to bid adieu to this

country, in which I have passed so large a portion of my life. I had scarcely made my arrangements, when the Secretary, Mr. Brown, determined to go home; and as Lord Minto had previously tendered me the office should it become vacant, and it is a situation in every respect desirable, I felt myself under a sort of obligation to abandon my design, and to reconcile myself to a further residence in this country. You will believe that I did not give up the hope of seeing you again, without a poignant regret. At this moment, I am scarcely satisfied with the change; but whatever is, is right. At least, I will hope so; although I have had sometimes difficulty enough to reconcile the maxim.

"I propose to remain here a couple of years longer; and, much as I feel the unpleasant parts of this arrangement, I cannot conceal from myself that it is likely to be attended with some advantage. I should have found myself probably much cramped in my circumstances, had I left India immediately, and should, I doubt not, have been compelled to return to it. This will not, I trust, be the case, if I remain here a year or two longer; but I have been so often disappointed in my hopes, that I will no longer speculate upon a distant future. Two years constitute an age; and I must learn to bound my prospects. I will hope to enjoy the happiness of seeing my family once more, without pretending to trace out projects which may never be realised. Our destiny is not in our own hands.

"I have already written to friend B——; and shall of course not neglect to write to our poor afflicted mother. Console her, dearest N——, and receive consolation for the afflictions of your own heart. Mine has been smote, until it has almost lost the sense of feeling."

At the commencement of the new year—1809—Mr. Tucker took charge of the office of Secretary in the Public Department. "I have taken charge of my new office of Secretary," he wrote, "at the busiest time (the despatch of a large Fleet); and Lord Minto

having requested me also to continue to officiate as a member of the Board of Revenue, in the absence of two of the members, I have really my hands full."

He was now, indeed, in harness again; and the old subject of Finance was once more occupying many of his official hours. It must have been with satisfaction, not without alloy, that he now regarded the state of the public accounts. There was now no want of money in the Treasury; and it was to be borrowed from the community at an interest of six per cent. "I shall be happy," wrote Lord Minto from Madras, where the disturbances in the Coast Army had taken him, "to find the reduction of interest to six per cent. practicable and advisable; and I should conceive it possible to force a loan even on those terms, with an overflowing Treasury such as we now have, and without any immediate apprehension of events that would require a large expenditure." So far, this was satisfactory. That for which Mr. Tucker had so long striven had now been fairly accomplished; but a new source of alarm now began to present itself to the Indian Financier. In the month of August the Bengal Government had sent home a long and elaborate Financial letter, written with all that clearness and force which distinguished from first to last Mr. Tucker's official papers, in which it was stated that "the rate of Indian interest having of late approximated more nearly to the standard of English interest, the capitalist has no longer the same motive for retaining his funds in India; and even if the security be sup-

posed equal, the charges of agency, the risk of disappointment, and other circumstances, will probably deter the public creditor from leaving his property at a distance from his own immediate control, when the advantage to be obtained is no longer considerable." At that time four-fifths of the Public Securities were in the hands of European creditors. Fortunes were more rapidly acquired than in these days; the period of Indian service was generally shorter; and such was the difficulty and uncertainty of communication between the two countries, that the English creditor was naturally anxious to carry home his property with him, even if he had not been moved thereto by the unsettled state of Europe, and a vague alarm of Indian invasion; so that there was an apprehension of a large amount of the Debt being speedily transferred to England. "It is to be apprehended," continued the Finance-letter quoted above, "that many of those who have deposited their Government Securities in the Treasury, as well as those who have left their property in the hands of private agents, will order a large proportion of it to be remitted to England at an early period. Individuals, also, who are returning to England, and even some of those who are still resident in the country, may be expected to remit at least a part of their Funds." The unlimited power of remittance through the Government Treasury was found, indeed, in the existing state of things, to be a serious evil. There was the greatest difficulty in effecting remittances through the channel of Commerce; and

it appeared that so long as the Company's Treasury afforded such facilities for the remittance not only of the interest, but of the principal of the Debt to England, there would be little money available in India at a low rate of interest. "I do not think," wrote Lord Minto to Mr. Tucker, "any money will be left in India at six per cent., which can find its way to England, excepting the Native property. But the remittance of money to England *otherwise than by Bills on the Court of Directors*, will occasion no inconvenience to Government, and the low interest on Public Securities will throw more capital into trade, which must be advantageous to the country. It seems to follow, from this view of the subject, that we should ensure the first fundamental operation of exchanging the present Securities for others, without the option of remittance to England, by refraining from those conditions which may be expected to force the capital home, under the power which now exists for that purpose. And when that is accomplished, we ought, and may securely, take the proper steps for reducing the interest. But, as I have already said, my judgment will of course remain suspended on these points till it can be matured by consultation and discussion at Calcutta."

To Mr. Tucker, however, it seemed that the maintenance of a low rate of interest in India was not incompatible with those other conditions to which allusion has been made; but he saw the urgent necessity of impressing upon the Company the evil results attending an almost exclusive system of re-

mittance by bills, when the industrial resources of the country, duly developed, and justly protected, might be turned to this profitable account. And in the masterly State-paper which I have quoted above—a paper which a quarter of a century afterwards was read with interest, and cited with commendation by some of the ablest men of the day—he pointed out the means of providing adequate remittance through the channel of Commerce, and making the advantage of the State the advantage also of the people. For nearly fifty years, indeed, was Mr. Tucker endeavoring to stimulate these commercial remittances—but all to very little purpose. The sugar, cotton, &c., which he contended were the legitimate means of remittance to this country, still came in but scanty supplies; and the Justice to India, for which he clamored, he never lived to see granted. A new state of things has now arisen. The proportion of the Public Securities, held by the native community has progressively increased. Improved facilities of inter-communication have placed Indian Securities more immediately under the management of the English resident. There is no longer any apprehension of the downfal of our Indian Empire. And the long-continued Peace in Europe has so reduced the interest of money in England, that Indian Securities are still sought, for the higher per-centage they bear. But still the subject enlarged upon in the Financial letter of August, 1809, is one that demands the consideration of the Indian statesman, for with it is mixed up

the whole question of the encouragement of the Agriculture, the Manufactures, and the Trade of India; and therefore of the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people.*

But he had not long devoted himself to the duties of his new office, when fresh sorrows came to lacerate his heart. In the summer of that year he received information of the death of two of his brothers. They had been drowned in the Channel on their way to the coast of Spain. Colonel George and Captain Nathaniel Tucker, of the King's service, had embarked on board the *Primrose* sloop of war, which formed part of a convoy proceeding to Spain with troops destined to join the army then operating in the Peninsula. Colonel Tucker had embarked on board this vessel rather than on the frigate which had charge of the convoy, because, crowded as was the latter with officers of rank, there was no room for his brother—and his brotherly affection cost him his life. A few hours after their embarkation at Falmouth the *Primrose* was wrecked on the "Manacles," and with the exception of a boy, who was picked off one of the ship's tops, every soul on board perished.†

These multiplied bereavements cut Mr. Tucker to the soul. "Feel them I must," he exclaimed, in a

* For further information on this important subject I would refer the reader to the paper on "Home Remittances," in Mr. Tucker's *Memorials of Indian Government*, p. 381, *et seq.*

† Colonel George Tucker was the schoolfellow and favorite brother of the subject of this Memoir. He was a good soldier, and on the high road to distinction, when his career was thus lamentably closed.

letter written at the time, "to the end of my life;" and writing to his sister, he thus expressed the sincerity of his grief:

"*Calcutta, 27th August*, 1809.—I have not heard from you for a long time; nor can I be surprised at it. The afflictions which we have suffered must have oppressed your feeling heart, and have made it painful to you to communicate with those who were equal sufferers. I have felt this myself; and it required an effort to write even to those who have not equal cause to deplore our irreparable loss. To my poor unfortunate mother I have not been able to write a line. What can I say to her? For some misfortunes no consolation can be offered. Heaven grant that she may have fortitude to support such a succession of afflictions! I would willingly speak comfort to you, my dearest sister; but it is in vain. I feel this loss almost as a dissolution of the family. Poor fellows! they were its treasure; we can never forget them. I have known little happiness of late; but what is personal to myself, I can bear. I had hoped to have enjoyed comfort in witnessing their prosperity and happiness. They, however, have left a scene of trouble and affliction without a reproach; and we are the sufferers who survive. Let me not, however, afflict you. I ought not, perhaps, to write on this distressing subject. It shall henceforward be buried in my own heart."

All through the year 1810, Mr. Tucker continued to devote himself diligently to the duties of the Secretariat. He went through his work with a heavy heart; but he performed it with his accustomed vigor. The thought of a speedy return to England was still uppermost in his mind. What he felt on this much-engrossing subject may be gathered from his private letters, which better than anything else relate the inner history of the man. His outer history was one, for the most part, of official routine:

"TO HIS SISTER.

"Calcutta, 17th February, 1810.

"It is now a period of full two years, I believe, since I had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from you; but I cannot be surprised at your disinclination to write, under the distressing circumstances which have occurred within that unhappy period. I have felt the same repugnance myself, and did not indeed write to you by the last Fleet; but these feelings we must overcome if possible.

". . . . I will not say that I am quite determined about the period of my departure from India; for nothing beyond the present moment can be depended upon; but, as far as I can judge at present, I apprehend no obstacle to my leaving the country about this time twelvemonth."

"TO HIS MOTHER.

"June 10, 1810.

". . . . I wrote to Mrs. T. that I should probably embark for England about January next; and I do not foresee at present that anything is likely to detain me longer in India. I am most anxious to have the happiness of seeing you once more; and, please Heaven! I shall enjoy this happiness about this time twelvemonth. My eyes are become so weak, that this is an additional reason for my leaving the country; for until I retire from business, I cannot take care of them and spare them as I ought to do.

". . . . I do not propose to have a house, or an establishment of any kind (in England); for my fortune is not sufficient to admit of anything of the kind. A single room, and a single servant, will answer all my purposes, if I should continue (as I probably shall do) a bachelor.

"I have recommended to you, my dearest mother, to have your little property secured as soon as possible in the Public Funds; and I have written to J—— expressing the same opinion. Do not, I entreat you, allow it to remain in any private hands, or to be lent to any individual engaged in commercial concerns of any kind. I have suffered so severely from commercial speculations, that I have a dread of them; and

much as I regard Mr. ——, I would not advise you to place your property in his House;* for although his business may be very good, and he is as kind and as good a being as ever lived, it is better to avoid the risk which must attend his and every other concern in trade. J——, or my friend B——, will be able to give you the best advice with regard to the mode of disposing of your little property."

"Calcutta, 24th September, 1810.

". . . . My eyes are so weak, that I cannot venture to write much; and in reading I scarcely ever indulge. This defect in my sight has determined me to leave the country a year or two sooner than I had intended; and by the end of May or beginning of June I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you all once more. I have written to Captain Hay to reserve accommodation for me in the *Astell;* but I am a little afraid that others have applied before me. I shall, at all events, take my passage in one of the ships which will sail in December or January next. My health, in all other respects, is perfectly good; and I shall consider myself very fortunate if I enjoy as good health in England.

". . . . I was exceedingly mortified to find that the little Kentish property had been let again upon a long lease; and that my quondam friend, Mr. ——, had behaved so unhandsomely on the occasion. These disappointments will occur, and they must be borne with patience. I was very desirous of adding to the property, and should have been disposed to settle in the neighbourhood, as I understand the situation is a pleasant one. This idea must now be abandoned, especially as my premature return to England will prevent my making that addition to my fortune which I had counted upon. I shall not now have it my power to form any regular establishment, except as far as it may be necessary for your comfort. I shall live myself without house or equipage, upon as moderate a scale of expense as possible.

* The House to which allusion is here made failed in the following year.

"*November 2nd.*—All quite well. I have taken my passage in the *Sovereign*, Captain Campbell; and as we expect to sail direct about the 1st of January, I hope to have the happiness of seeing you early in May."

And so, after a quarter of a century of exile, he set his face towards the white cliffs of England, eager to realise the dreams of the Past. He went, carrying with him the thanks and the commendations of the members of the Supreme Government, who on the last day of the year indited the following despatch:

"*To the Honorable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.*

"HONORABLE SIRS,—We are extremely concerned that Mr. Henry St.George Tucker, the Secretary to the Government in the Public Department of this Presidency, is compelled to resign that office, and proceed to England in the Honorable Company's ship, *Sovereign*.

"2. On the departure of any of your servants, who have discharged the duties of their official situations with distinguished credit and ability, and with eminent advantage to the public interests, we deem it an act both of duty and of justice to afford to your Honorable Court our testimony to the merits of their conduct, and to the importance of their services. To none could this testimony be more justly due than it is to Mr. Tucker, who not only in the office which he is about to resign, but in other important and responsible situations under this Government, has established a more than ordinary claim to our approbation and that of your Honorable Court, by the application of talents and acquirements of the highest order, with unwearied diligence, and unimpeached integrity, in the discharge of the laborious duties committed to his charge during a long course of active employment in the Civil Service of the Honorable Company.

"3. At the express desire of the late Governor-General,

Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Tucker was induced, at a season of great financial difficulty, to relinquish the situation of Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, of which the salary was 50,000 rupees per annum, and accept that of Accountant-General, at a salary of not more than 38,000. Mr. Tucker, we understand, was led to expect, but has not hitherto received, a compensation for this sacrifice of private interest to the calls of the public service, and proposes to submit his claim, on this account, to your Honorable Court—a claim to which we cannot refuse to solicit your favorable attention.

"4. Mr. Tucker's peculiar abilities in the Department of Finance are not unknown to your Honorable Court. The services which he rendered to Government by the very able manner in which he conducted the important and laborious duties of the office of Accountant-General, merited and obtained the recorded approbation of Government. We acknowledge, also, the advantage which we have derived from Mr. Tucker's assistance in forming our plans for the regulation of your financial concerns since his appointment to the office of Secretary to the Government in the Public Department; the general duties of which have been conducted by Mr. Tucker with distinguished ability, and in a manner to demand our highest approbation.

"5. These long and meritorious services, we trust, will appear to your Honorable Court to claim your favorable regard to any representations which Mr. Tucker may have occasion to address to you, and your consent to his return to India without prejudice to his rank, if the state of his health, which has compelled his departure without having acquired a competency, shall enable him to resume his exertions in the service of the Honorable Company.

"We have, &c., Honorable Sirs,

"Your most faithful, humble servants,

(Signed) "MINTO.

"G. HEWETT.

"J. LUMSDEN.

"H. COLEBROOKE.

"Fort William, the 31st December, 1810."

At the same time the Governor-General wrote a private letter to Lord Melville, who presided at the India Board, in strong recommendation of Mr. Tucker; and to other influential men at home addressed himself in terms equally commendatory of the public servant from whom he had derived such important assistance. In the month of May, 1810, the *Sovereign* entered port.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Tucker's Reception in England—Meeting with his Mother—Visit to Mr. Carre—Miss Boswell—Mr. Tucker's Marriage—His Wedding-Tour—Recognition of his Services—His intended Return to India—The Voyage to Calcutta.

On his return to England, Mr. Tucker met with a most flattering reception, both from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. On the day of his arrival in London, Lord Melville sent for him, and held him in conference for more than an hour. He was the depository of a rich store of information, which the governing bodies were most anxious to possess.

He had many old friends, too, in London, who were eager to show him the attention that was his due; and much business, too, that it was necessary at once to transact. So that, impatient as he was to embrace his mother and his sister, he was detained in the metropolis, for some little time, against his will. "I have some business of great importance to transact," he wrote to the former, from Charles-street, Berkeley-square, "which I cannot possibly get through before Friday or Saturday. On Friday or Saturday evening, however, I will positively set off in the mail, come what will, for I will no longer deny myself the happiness of embracing those who

are so dear to me. I have been received here in the most flattering manner, and this is one cause of my detention; for the kindness of my friends has prevented my paying all that attention to business which was necessary." In a previous letter he had written, also to his mother, who was at Cheltenham: "I am in the best possible health, and shall be most happy in revisiting my country, if I find my friends so. Heaven bless and preserve you!" He fulfilled his promise, and was soon in his mother's arms.

Having spent a brief season of happiness in the society of his widowed parent and his beloved sister, he set out for Scotland, on a visit to those relatives who had received him, when a boy in England, fresh from his western home. He found, unfortunately, a sick house; and he wrote to his mother from Edinburgh, in July: "This illness has cast a gloom over us all; but the sun is beginning to shine with us again, and I hope that the conclusion of my visit to Edinburgh will be more auspicious than its commencement." In this letter, as in many others written at this period, the tenderest regard is evinced for the happiness and comfort of the aged parent, whose declining years he had done so much to solace and to cheer. It was one of his chief cares to provide her with a comfortable home. Whether an arrangement could be made for them to live together had been canvassed between them, but there was an obstacle in the way. "You are unequal," he wrote, "to the fatigue of house-keeping; and it is impossible for me to impose this

trouble upon you. I, myself, am totally ignorant of everything of the kind; and even if it were certain (which it is not) that I shall remain in England, I could not undertake to manage a household establishment. I believe, therefore, that I have nothing for it, but to look out for a wife, or some good-natured friend, to assist me in this way."

This was said jestingly, but there was deep meaning at the bottom of it. The idea of taking a wife was not, indeed, at that time a mere abstraction. It already pressed itself on his mind as an embodied reality. It was not a thought of *a* wife; but of *the* wife. He had, in his heart, made the election that was to influence the future happiness of his life.

On his way to Edinburgh he had paid passing visits to some friends; amongst others, to Mr. Alexander Carre, of Caverse, in Roxburghshire. Mr. Carre was married to Miss Boswell, daughter of Mr. Robert Boswell, of Edinburgh, Writer to the Signet, a member of the Auchinleck family, and a relative of Johnson's biographer. It happened that a younger sister was then residing with Mrs. Carre. Mr. Tucker there saw her for the first time; but it can scarcely be said that they met as strangers. Another sister was married to Mr. Egerton, of the Bengal Civil Service, who had succeeded Mr. Tucker as Accountant-General, and with whom he had long lived in habits of intimacy and friendship. Of her younger sister, Mrs. Egerton had often spoken to him in terms of the strongest sisterly affection; and in letters home had alluded to Mr. Tucker, as

to an old and a dear friend, for whom, on his visit to England, she bespoke all their kindness and hospitality. So, now that Miss Jane Boswell and Mr. Tucker met, face to face, at Caverse, they met almost as old friends; there were common ties to knit them together. She had much to ask; and he, much to tell. And there was no disappointment on either side. Mrs. Egerton had not exaggerated the womanly beauty and gentleness of the one, or the manly intelligence and kindness of the other. So it happened that the acquaintance, which then commenced, soon ripened into love between them.

On the 15th of August he wrote to his mother, from Charles-street, that he was "in a fair way, after all, of getting married;" and before the following month had worn to a close, the Church had pronounced Henry St.George Tucker and Jane Boswell to be man and wife.

From the letters written by Mr. Tucker, during this interval, a few extracts may be made—brief and characteristic. They do not advance the progress of his outer history; but they afford many glimpses of his inner life of thought and feeling. It is not necessary to indicate the date of each particular passage:

"I have always been of a domestic disposition, although the tenor of my former life may seem at variance with this fact. All my future joys must centre in my family; but still I am not so churlish as not to partake in the amusements of others, and I hope I have generosity enough to wish you to indulge in every innocent gratification, even when I cannot be a partaker in the enjoyment. . . . "

"The forms and observances of religion ought to be attended to; and I love the spirit of unaffected piety, at the same time that I revolt from bigotry, violence, and the spirit of party in religion. . . . . I have always thought that religion should inspire us with pleasing ideas, and never render us gloomy. He who is strongly impressed with the benevolence of the Creator ought not to be gloomy. All Nature—everything we see—assures us of His benevolence! Nothing can elevate our ideas of the Creator so much as the contemplation of the innumerable worlds which are circulating around us. . . . ."

"A noble pride is the best foundation of high character; but that pride which occupies itself with petty objects, is neither respectable nor amiable. . . . ."

"Passion is nothing more than a little quickness of feeling; and if it be not in excess, there is no harm in it. Oftentimes it is accompanied by great generosity. On the other hand, ill-temper and sullenness of disposition are real defects of character; and they are calculated to produce as much misery in the marriage state, as a want of principle and of every amiable quality."

"I observed to you that it would take me a month to answer your letters; and so it would, if I went on writing as long as I could find matter to write about. The mode I pursue is to read them over, and take notes (in a single word or two) of the subjects to which they refer; but I feel always so strong an interest during the perusal, that at least half the subjects escape me, and my notes are very imperfect. I must adopt a new plan, I think, and reply to line after line; but there is an advantage in taking notes, for with a glance of the eye you can arrange the subjects in their proper order. I used to adopt this practice in my public correspondence, and it enables you to write in a more connected manner. Not that this sort of regularity is necessary in private correspondence. I do not know that it may not sometimes be a little *ungraceful,* for ease ought to characterise this correspon-

dence. Anything studied or constrained appears quite out of place; and I am a thousand times more pleased with your unpremeditated *desultory* observations, than I should be with the most finished composition. Your sex are considered to excel in letter-writing; and it is because you write as you feel. We may admire Art; but we are always pleased with Nature, and Nature never makes a fuss about anything. If she were to take it into her head to write letters, they would be written with ease."

"Lord Minto has been most kind to my brother William, and has given him an appointment (the situation of Deputy-Paymaster-General to the troops employed on the Expedition). It will not make W. rich; but it pleases him, and it pleases me to find his Lordship so attentive to my parting request. He has, indeed, complied with all my requests in the most handsome manner; and I feel under great obligation to him."

"When I reflect and see the happiness which I have in prospect, every wrong passion is, I hope, subdued, and I feel a degree of gratitude which it is impossible to express."

"You are quite new to the world, and you have yet experienced none of its cares and anxieties. May you never experience them! but . . . we must be prepared to meet a little of those inconveniences, to which all mankind are subject. We cannot expect that we shall be entirely exempt from adversity. I would not willingly depress your spirits, or say anything likely to check the current of your joy; but I would wish to guard you, as far as possible, against disappointment."

"You have gratified me exceedingly by the ready manner in which you have consented to take charge of my little wards, the Richardsons. R. loves me, I believe, as a brother, and I certainly love him as an invaluable friend. We have been most intimate ever since I was a boy (he is some years older than myself); and never, I believe, in the course of so many

years, have we experienced the slightest interruption to our friendship.

"I mentioned to you that I would not send any more letters for your perusal; but I must gratify myself by forwarding the enclosed from Mrs. Fendall. Do not suspect that I send it from any feeling of vanity. I am sometimes cut to the soul on receiving praise which I do not deserve. I am mortified when I look within, and find the reality so different from what the partiality of my friends would represent me. It has been my fortune through life to meet with enthusiastic friends and inveterate enemies. You have seen what the former are; and I will some day give you a singular instance of what the latter are capable of doing. But never mind them—they are not our concern at present. I send you Mrs. F.'s letter to read, because I flatter myself that it will gratify *you,* and make you better acquainted with this excellent, warm-hearted friend."

"If I had been inclined to add a motto, it should be one which I have long purposed to adopt—'Nil desperandum.' The words apply well enough to some part of my life; and they form part of a speech made by my Greek ancestor, Teucer, to his companions, on the occasion of his banishment from Salamis to the island of Bermuda. Your brothers will tell you where to find this speech in Horace, and they will translate it to you. I am descended, also, as I believe I told you, from the Kings of Jerusalem, and the ancient Princes of Wales. The Bosvilles cannot boast a higher pedigree. *Our* name is, however, precisely the same as the Greek Teucer; for this latter could not actually be written in Greek letters. They would give Tuker, or Tucker.

"We are agreed, then, to prefer ancient simplicity, and not to like finery of any kind. The ancients, I suspect, did not usually drive four horses, except in battle, or at the race-course; and we will therefore be content to travel with a pair; for, according to the best calculation, four would double the expense, without much adding to our comfort. The other

pair we will reserve for the peasantry in our neighbourhood. We obtain a godlike gratification by indulging a spirit of charity and benevolence."

This last passage was written a few days before his marriage, which was solemnised on the closing day of September. They were married from Mr. Carré's house, Caverse, in Roxburghshire, and set out immediately on a tour, through some of the most beautiful parts of Scotland. "We have been running about," he wrote, on the 10th of October from Montrose, "to the Falls of Clyde, Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Loch Katrine, &c., and nothing could be more delightful than this excursion. We have every prospect of many happy days and happy years together; and I am grateful to Heaven for the blessing it has bestowed upon me."

In November he proceeded to Edinburgh, and soon began to busy himself with thoughts of his return to India. He had made up his mind, before his marriage, to take this step, not so much for his own sake, as for the sake of others, and had written to his betrothed a characteristic letter, in which he said: "I think precisely as you do with respect to our going abroad. It would be more pleasant to remain where we are; but circumstanced as I am it is right to go. It would be to indulge a very selfish feeling if we remained here, at the risk of being compelled to deny others those little comforts which we have it in our power to procure for them. If we retain our health, a short residence in India will be no serious grievance. If you find that

the climate does not agree with your constitution, we can always return, and be content with something less." And speaking further of this contingency, he said: "You must be satisfied in this case to settle down quietly in Scotland without splendor or riches. I can perceive that your good mother is anxious that I should give Scotland a preference. Now I can do this without any difficulty. I will readily agree to our residing near her, if I should not have business which would fix me in London. I am not likely to have any such business, although I am told that a situation in the India House would have been offered to me had I arrived in England a year sooner. It has since been given to another person."

It is probable that the resolution of returning to India was formed in consequence of his intended marriage. It seems to have taken a definite shape in his mind between the months of July and September. In the former, although he had declared himself ready to proceed immediately to Bengal, if his services were required, he said that he had then no fixed intention of returning to India. On his first arrival in England he had been consulted by Mr. Bosanquet, the Chairman of the East India Company, respecting some financial matters, among which was the question of the best means of remitting to England the surplus funds in the Indian treasuries. With respect to remittances in bullion, he wrote: "I cannot pretend to say what particular sum those on the spot may deem it prudent

to send off immediately, but I have no hesitation in saying that I myself should consider it both safe and practicable, and easy to despatch from Bengal and Madras in January next a sum of from two to three millions sterling in specie and bullion. Of dollars, however, the proportion will, I imagine, be very small. Some gold may be supplied from Madras; but the bulk of the remittance must be in the Bengal silver currency. I have, for some time past, considered the question of this remittance as embracing a great national object, as well as objects most interesting to the Company; and I would have gone back to India to assist in the arrangements which might be necessary for carrying it into effect, had my services been called for or desired. I have formed no determination yet to return to India, nor am I now soliciting employment there or elsewhere; but I take such an interest in that branch of the public business in which I have been long employed, that I shall be disposed to do everything in my power to promote its success, even under circumstances of inconvenience to myself."

The admirable letter from which this passage is taken indicates that neither the excitement of his first arrival in England, after an absence of a quarter of a century, nor the delightful thought of embracing the relatives whom he so much loved, had diminished his public zeal, or in any way dimmed the clearness of his perceptions, or disturbed the logical arrangement of his ideas. It was, too, about

this time that he drew up a valuable paper entitled "Hints for Accountants-General," full of truths, which, obvious as many of them may seem to be, are often disregarded by Financiers. It is written in a style so pleasant and animated—Finance, indeed, seems to be made so easy in it—that even the most careless reader may peruse the more general portion of it, which I now subjoin, without a complaint of the dryness of the subject:

"HINTS FOR ACCOUNTANTS-GENERAL.—1811.

"1st. It is necessary to extend the view occasionally to a distant period, embracing at least the whole year; but the service of the two or three months next ensuing should never be out of sight. It is no longer time to make provision for an emergency when that emergency arrives. 'Time and I against any two,' was said heretofore. Time and the borrower will be an overmatch for any lender; but without time there is no room for the exertion of skill in financial affairs. Above all, it is necessary to attend to the state of the general Treasury. Any blow there is mortal. You may be bankrupt in any other quarter without serious inconvenience, and without much discredit.

"2nd. If you allow yourself to be pushed off your centre, either from an over-anxiety to provide for the investment, or otherwise, you may never recover the equilibrium. Credit once lost is not suddenly regained. The stone which is precipitated down in a few minutes, cannot be rolled up again without infinite labor. A temporary object may possibly be accomplished by a violent effort; but, the sinews once over-strained, are incapable for ever after of exerting the same force. It is sometimes judicious to husband your means—to put your strength out at interest, in order that you may act with greater efficiency on important occasions. If we had not acted in this manner in the year 1801, I do not believe that we should have got rid of our twelve-per-cent. Treasury-bills at this moment; and as for the

reduction of the interest of the debt to six per cent., or the production of a surplus revenue of a million sterling, we might have dreamed of such things, but we should only have dreamed.

"3rd. There may be wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, but I have not found this to be the case in the affairs of Finance. Secrecy is sometimes indispensable; and you cannot be secret *sometimes*, if you are not *habitually* secret. I would not advise you to consult with the agents or other individuals; for I do not recollect ever to have received an opinion or suggestion of any value from them. The fact is, that they see only one part of the concern; and it is not, therefore, to be expected that they can form any general combinations. Without at all supposing that they would be influenced by their own particular interests, it is impossible that they should take a judicious or comprehensive view of our affairs, with which they are so little acquainted.

"The same degree of reserve should be practised even with the confidential officers of the Government (and with one in particular). They cannot assist you with their advice, and they may mar your projects by their indiscretion. Address yourself directly to the Governor-General, or to the member of Government who may preside in the department, and communicate as little as possible with any other individual. If you find a disposition on the part of any meddling person to interfere with you, resist it manfully in the first instance, and abjure all responsibility if it be permitted or countenanced in any manner.

"4th. *Watch the movements of Capital and Commerce.* Vigilance and circumspection are at all times necessary; but in times of difficulty the greatest attention is necessary to the state of the money-market. The price of bullion—the quantity imported or exported—the demand for bills on particular quarters—the rates of exchange—furnish grounds for deducing particular conclusions; but many other facts and appearances will require attention. It may be supposed, perhaps, that the rates of interest paid by individuals ought to furnish more direct and certain inferences; but I am not of this opinion exactly. The current rates of interest must, doubtless, be attended to; but

my experience has convinced me that this market is affected by circumstances, which do not by any means indicate the true and legitimate demand for capital. It is sometimes put into an unnatural, feverish state by the wants of a single individual; and it is necessary to distinguish carefully between such paroxysms and the effects produced by the regular demands of a more healthful commerce. It is not easy to ascertain the extent of the capital which is likely to be at the disposal of Government; but some judgment may be formed of it by attentive observation.

" When the necessity for borrowing is become manifest and certain, it is much better to offer at once to the public such terms as are likely to be accepted, than to expose yourself to the risk of being compelled to raise your terms. For instance, if you offered seven per cent., and in consequence of a disappointment it should be found afterwards necessary to tender eight, it may happen that eight, which would have succeeded in the first instance, will not be accepted after a failure. The public will then speculate upon an increasing ratio of distress; and they will be disposed to withhold their funds in the expectation of obtaining ten or twelve per cent. When you have secured the funds required, it will not be difficult to reduce your rates of interest by a gradual operation. This was effected by us in 1801 and 1802 with singular success. Subsequently, in the end of 1805, I was induced to offer ten-per-cent. Treasury-notes in order to get rid of an oppressive load of floating debt. Here, too, we succeeded most completely, and in a very short time we were again in a condition to resume the offensive; but had we tendered eight per cent., it would not probably have been accepted. We should have been obliged to raise our terms; and we might have been embarrassed with a floating debt at the present moment. The only time for undertaking any financial operation with the prospect of success, is when you have a full Treasury, or at least when you are free from any immediate pressure.

" The inequality of the instalments of our Revenue and charge has now been well ascertained, and the necessity of attending to it has been made sufficiently apparent. The same dispro-

portion exists at Fort St. George; and it should of course be adverted to.

"It is also necessary to attend to the flux and reflux of money at the Presidency, as well as to those circumstances which occasion a periodical exacerbation of the demand for it. This demand is always very urgent at the periods fixed for clearing out the salt and opium; but it is sometimes increased by other circumstances, which can only be ascertained by a watchful and constant attention, since their operation is not steady and invariable.

"The ebb and flow of money at the public treasuries must be well known to the Accountant-General, for it is constantly in his view; but the periodical flux and reflux of the private capital should also be attended to. For instance: the salt is realised in the interior of the country; the amount is remitted by the merchants to Calcutta, partly in specie, and partly in grain and other articles which are required for the consumption of the town. The specie, of course, comes directly to the Treasury in payment for the salt, and the value of the grain, &c., when sold, comes to us in the same manner. The money issued from the Treasury on account of interest, in payment of salaries, &c., &c., is employed in part to make these purchases of grain, &c., &c., and in part is remitted into the interior for the purchase of goods, indigo, &c., intended for exportation to Europe. These goods constitute the channel for remitting the savings of incomes and the interest of the public debt, which is paid by us in cash on the spot. . . . ."

It has been mentioned that Mr. Tucker, on his arrival in England, was received in the most flattering manner both by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The former body soon afterwards evinced their high sense of his services by conferring on him a substantial mark of their approbation. They voted him a sum of money, amount-

ing, at the exchange of the day, to about 6000*l*.* Intimation of the grant reached Mr. Tucker soon after his marriage. It was scarcely possible for anything to have rendered him happier than he then was; but looking as he did upon money as the means of increasing the comfort and happiness of others, the liberality of the Court added something to the pile of blessings, and profoundly enhanced the gratitude of his heart.

Early in the following year—1812—Mr. Tucker was in London making preparations for the voyage to Calcutta. The situation which he was to occupy on his return to India was naturally an object of consideration. He believed that his services entitled him to aspire to one of the highest. And as a seat in Council was likely soon to be vacant, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a conversation with the Chairman of the East India Company, to mention his views in that direction, and ask for the support of the Court.

In the course of conversation, however, the name of Mr. Edmonstone was mentioned in connexion with the vacant seat; and Mr. Tucker at once, with characteristic ingenuousness and magnanimity, declared

* "We have agreed," wrote the Court, early in November, to Bengal, "to present Mr. Henry St.George Tucker, of your Civil Establishment, and late Secretary to Government in the Public Department, with the sum of 50,000 Sicca rupees, as a token of our approbation of the integrity and ability with which he has discharged the duties of the several important situations he has filled in our service, under your Presidency; and, accordingly, direct that you pay the same to Mr. Tucker's agents, in Bengal."

that he could not pretend to be as well qualified for the situation as a man of such eminent attainments as his friend. What effect this frank testimony in favor of another may have had upon Mr. Tucker's chance of nomination, I cannot even conjecture—but soon afterwards Mr. Edmonstone was appointed member of Council. When the decision of the Court reached the two candidates, they were both of them in Calcutta. The generous conduct of Mr. Tucker had been communicated to his friend, and when they next met in the City of Palaces, Edmonstone exclaimed: "No one but you—no one in the world but you would have acted such a part." This was almost better than the appointment itself. The guns of Fort William proclaiming that he had been sworn in Member of the Supreme Council could scarcely have sounded more pleasantly in his ears than such words as these so uttered.

This, however, is an anticipation of the narrative. Mr. Tucker and his bride are now in London, preparing for their voyage to Calcutta. They have determined to take with them a niece of the former—the eldest daughter of his only sister. They have taken their passage on board the Company's ship *Bengal*, commanded by Captain Nicholl—they have excellent accommodation, what is technically called "half of the round house"—and now, in the month of April, they are fairly afloat.

They met with no adventures on the way—neither shipwreck nor Pirates, so that there is nothing to

record; but it is still remembered, by the companion of his voyage, how kindly and assiduously the sometime Accountant-General instructed his niece, who was an apt scholar, in the rudiments of mathematics; and how, when mirth was to be promoted, and amusement was the order of the day, the grave financier was as joyous and frolicsome as any of the young midshipmen and cadets.

CHAPTER X.

Return to India—The Financial Secretaryship—The Seat in Council—Want of Money at Home—Bullion-supplies—Correspondence with Sir Hugh Inglis—Mr. Tucker's Measures—Scarcity of Money in India—Correspondence with Mr. Davis — Death of Mr. Tucker's Mother — The Chief Secretaryship—Return to England.

Great beyond measure was Mr. Tucker's delight on first returning to the scene of his old labors. Escorting his wife, in the first instance, to Garden Reach—the loveliest river-side suburb in the world—where he had made arrangements to share with Mr. and Mrs. Egerton* one of those stately villas which render the seaward approach to Calcutta so picturesquely inviting, he hurried off to the busy parts of the town, to receive the welcome of his old companions.

Foremost amongst those who were eager to extend to him a hand of kindly greeting was the Governor-General. As soon as it was announced at Government House that Mr. Tucker had arrived, Lord Minto sent for him; and the result of the conference which then ensued was, that a special office was created for the man whose great financial ability

* Mr. Egerton had succeeded Tucker as Accountant-General. Mrs. Egerton was Mrs. Tucker's sister.

had saved, and was saving, millions to the State. On the 8th of August Mr. Tucker was appointed "Secretary to Government in the Colonial and Financial Department."

The April ships—the very fleet, indeed, with which Mr. Tucker sailed—carried out intelligence of the nomination of Mr. Edmonstone to a seat in Council. This appointment was to take effect from the 31st of July, at which date Mr. Lumsden's five years' tenure of office terminated. Mr. Colebrooke, the other member of Council, had then served for nearly five years; and the same Court which appointed Mr. Edmonstone, nominated also another Councillor provisionally, to succeed to the seat which would be vacant in the course of October. By the Committee of Correspondence, with whom the nomination originated, Mr. Tucker was selected. But the General Court did not confirm the appointment; and it was given to Mr. Seton.

By Mr. Tucker the disappointment was borne, as he might be expected to bear it, manfully and uncomplainingly, and with a grateful recognition of all the blessings that had been vouchsafed to him. "If I had been really distressed at this disappointment," he wrote to his wife, "your note would operate as a cordial to my heart. But, in truth, it is not a serious evil; and I should be the most ungrateful being upon earth, if I allowed such a circumstance to make me forget the many and inestimable blessings I enjoy. Never was man more favored; and I trust that I am not insensible to the

numberless benefits conferred upon me—although I am not perhaps so grateful, and, perhaps, it is impossible for me to be so grateful, as I ought to be. I only pray Heaven to continue me these blessings; and other disappointments I can easily bear." And again, he wrote, with reference to the same subject: "Possessing, as we happily do, so many blessings, we ought not to be depressed by a single disappointment. Everything is ordained for the best; and we have abundant reason to be grateful for that large and unmerited (in my case, at least,) portion of good that has been assigned to us."

His philosophy, indeed, was eminently cheerful; and he had a deep sense of gratitude, which he was ever ready to express. "We cannot," he wrote in another letter, "be too grateful for the blessings which have been bestowed upon us; and we best show our sense of obligation to a gracious Providence by receiving His gifts with a grateful and a cheerful heart, without repining at the idea that something still is wanting to our happiness." "There are two things," he continued, "which I endeavor to avoid, in order to escape perpetual vexation and annoyance. The one is, looking back to the Past for the purpose of discovering omissions and mistakes and errors*—the other is looking into the Future for the purpose of anticipating evil. The day brings with it troubles enough; and if we add

* I conclude that Mr. Tucker here means only to express his sense of the folly of vain regrets and repinings. But the lessons of the Past, rightly considered as guides to the Future, are the best heritage of man.

to the Present all the troubles of the Past and the Future, our condition would be intolerable. So much for the moral lessons of the day!"

But in the midst of all this enjoyment of so many and great blessings a heavy blow descended upon them. Their young charge, Miss L——, who had accompanied them from England, was prostrated by one of the cruel fevers of the country, and never rose again from her bed. The death of his niece deeply afflicted Mr. Tucker, who trembled for the effect which the sad tidings would have upon her bereaved mother; and looked with the most painful anxiety for the arrival of the vessels by which he expected to receive from England an acknowledgment of the most distressing communication he had ever been called upon to make. For many months this sad event cast a shadow over their happiness, and filled their affectionate hearts with apprehensions that they could not suppress. In such a case as this, Love proved stronger than Philosophy, and the theory of never anticipating evil was not proof against such a trial as now assailed them.

Nor was this the only sorrow that afflicted him during the second period of his residence in India. Another trial was in store for him, of which I shall come presently to speak. But no private sorrows ever interfered with the vigorous prosecution of his labors as a public servant. The year 1813 witnessed the completion of some great financial measures, which obviated a pressing difficulty severely felt in Leadenhall-street, and conferred substantial

benefits on the King's Government in a very critical conjuncture.

In the penultimate chapter it has been briefly shown that whilst the financial prosperity of the Indian Government had been established by the series of great measures which Mr. Tucker initiated, and there was everywhere an abundance of money flushing the Public Treasuries, the very evidences and results of this prosperity were causing grievous inconvenience to those who had the management of the Finances at home. The clauses in the terms of the Loans, which gave the public creditor the option of receiving the interest of his securities in the shape of Government-bills on the Home Treasury, and of exchanging such securities for bills on England, had caused such a strain upon the resources of the Company at home, that Leadenhall-street was perplexed and dismayed. Bills were coming in upon the Court in such numbers, and to such an amount, that it was impossible to meet them without foreign aid. In this emergency it was natural that they should have looked in the first instance to the cash balances in India, of which they were receiving such flourishing accounts. It appeared, at one time, that there was an available surplus of two millions and a half sterling. The Company, therefore, called upon their officers to send home large supplies of bullion; but Lord Minto was slow to meet the demands of the Court, and for some time their expectations were disap-

pointed. Bills came in in profusion; but money to meet them did *not* come.

The chagrin of the Court was great. And it is easy to account for it. Not only was the perplexity extreme, but singularly unseasonable. The Company were seeking a renewal of their Charter. And there was a scarcity of coin in England. At such a time it was natural that the great corporation should have desired to "stand well," as it was called, with the country. The country itself was in a strait. Cash was wanted to pay the Army in the Peninsula; but somehow or other all the specie seemed to have been drained out of the land.* It was not a time

* Mr. Tucker attributed this to the erroneous financial policy of the British Government. In an elaborate paper on the exportation of bullion (drawn up about the year 1814), he thus expressed himself on the subject:

"The British Government have endeavored by means of penalties to prevent the melting down and exportation of the established coin of the realm; but the coin has nevertheless disappeared entirely; and when a measure thus fails in accomplishing the end proposed, there is reason to suspect some fundamental error. It was notorious that at the time, when the most rigorous measures were enforced to preserve the national coin, the Government required remittances to the Continent to an amount far exceeding what the trade could supply; and the remittances could not therefore be generally effected without the aid of bullion. But bullion the Government could not procure; guineas never approached the Exchequer; and the law forbade their exportation even if they had more frequently appeared. As an alternative, the public officers abroad were of necessity allowed to draw on the Treasury at home; or in other words, individuals were invited to do what the Government could not or would not do. They were invited by the temptation of a high exchange to remit money for the supply of the military chest in Spain and Portugal; the current coin was accordingly melted down and exported as bullion, or was smuggled out of the country at great risk and expense; and for this additional charge, as well as for the ordinary expenses attending the remittance, a full indemnification was required and was obtained in the terms of the Exchange. The Government in this instance may be considered to have held out, unconsciously, a premium to its subjects, as an indemnification for the personal hazard and extraordinary expense attending a breach of the law.

for the Company to go to Parliament for pecuniary aid without damage to themselves; and yet the state of things that had arisen rendered such a course inevitable. Mr. Tucker, when in England, had told both the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, that large supplies of bullion might easily be remitted from India; and the Company saw how advantageous to their interests it would be, at such a time, to reciprocate favors with the King's Government, by furnishing the specie of which the latter stood so greatly in need.* But, in spite of the urgent demands of the Court, and the promises, as they said, of Lord Minto, the bullion never arrived. So the Chairs put themselves into commu-

"The enormous difference of exchange paid by the Government on its remittances to Spain and Portugal during the last four or five years, sufficiently testifies the fact, although I do not mean to say that other circumstances did not concur to produce this unfavorable exchange. Still it is unquestionable that, in prohibiting or obstructing the exportation of specie, the Government pursued a line of conduct tending to counteract their own views and interests in one quarter, without promoting at all the great object of preserving the national coin."

* "A supply of bullion to the amount we were entitled to expect, would have enabled the Company to have gone into Parliament for the renewal of their Charter on much higher ground than can now be taken. It would have enabled the Minister to have given us with more ease that support we so much want. And an accession of the precious metals in aid of the circulation of the country, and of the prosecution of the war in the Peninsula, would have procured for the Company a popularity, at all times useful, but at the present moment essential to their best interests. A supply of treasure to the extent of Lord Minto's promise (made previously to the receipt of our orders by the *Acteon*), in conjunction with our claims on Government, on account of expenses incurred in the capture of the French and Dutch Islands, and the large remittances in cash to the Mauritius, would have amounted to so large a sum, that the additional aid required to enable us to meet our difficulties, would have been small in comparison with that for which it will now be necessary to apply."—[*Private Correspondence of the Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company, March,* 1812.]

nication with Mr. Tucker, on whom they knew they could rely, and urged him immediately on his arrival to press upon the Governor-General the necessity of shipping the bullion without delay. "The object of this letter," wrote the Deputy-Chairman to Mr. Tucker, "is to induce you, knowing as you do the host of enemies with whom we have to contend on the renewal of the Charter, and fully sensible as you must be of the ill effects the disappointment has produced upon the general state of our affairs, to impress upon Lord Minto's mind the necessity of relieving, at the earliest possible period, our home funds from the existing pressure, to the extent, at least, of his promises, or of what we have directed in the despatches now sent out. . . . . I wished and endeavored to see you previously to your departure for India; but before I could accomplish it, I found that you had left Town. I have therefore troubled you in this way, in the hope that on your arrival there, you may, by reporting from your own observation our actual situation, stimulate the Government to suitable exertions for our relief."

A few months afterwards,* the same correspondent, who had then succeeded to the Chair, wrote still more emphatically on the subject in a private letter to Mr. Tucker:

"You will have learnt that no bullion has been sent to us from India, and but a small amount from China. You, who were acquainted with our wants and our expectations, will feel for our disappointment, which is not alone confined to the

* September, 1812.

Company. The Public and the Government participate in it. Silver is wanted for the current circulation of the country; and Government is distressed to find the means of making remittances to pay our gallant armies in the Peninsula, and for other purposes.

"From India we had reason to expect a large supply, not only in consequence of the orders sent from hence, but in fulfilment of a promise to remit in bullion to the amount of the drafts that might be made from Bombay; but instead of making good this engagement, we are told, and with the utmost indifference, that it has been found necessary to stop the advances for our Investment, and to draw down from the Provincial Treasuries the balances, to relieve the more urgent wants of the Government at Calcutta. At this very time we find loans to a very considerable amount had been made to relieve the distresses of individuals, not recollecting that the very existence of the Company might depend upon our Home Treasury being supported, either by bullion or investment; but better by both.

"At a period like the present, when it was known to our Governments that the Company's Charter was coming under discussion, when we stood in need of every aid to meet the heavy pressure on our Home Treasury from the mass of bills from India, it was not unreasonable to expect great and extraordinary exertions on their parts; had they even set the example of taking such part of their salaries as was not absolutely necessary for their current expenses, it would have shown an anxiety to assist the Company in this crisis of their affairs.

"I know it will be said the want of money in India has been occasioned by the large supplies to the expeditions against the French and Dutch Islands, and for their support; and that we have claims on the Government at home for reimbursement. It is true we have; but the Governments in India have not put us in a way to substantiate these claims, by furnishing us with clear and detailed statements, such as will enable us to make our case good in Parliament. We have no such accounts; and must beg as a boon what we are entitled to as a right.

"The Court have given their sentiments on the foregoing subject, and pretty fully, in a finance letter which goes by this

ship. It was withheld to the last moment, in the hope of some satisfactory explanations or information from the Governments of India, that would have rendered such a letter unnecessary."

At this time Mr. Tucker was busying himself in Calcutta to provide the much-coveted bullion-supplies. With characteristic promptitude and energy he threw himself into the work. He had not, indeed, been many days in Calcutta, before he wrote to Lord Minto,* that "not a moment should be lost in commencing operations;" and proceeded to show what was to be done:

"Mr. Egerton," he said, "will call down immediately to the General Treasury all our surplus funds in the Provincial Treasuries; and I apprehend there will be no difficulty in remitting from hence to England twenty-four or twenty-five lakhs of rupees (fifteen lakhs in Furruckabad rupees, and ten lakhs in gold), which, with a remittance of five lakhs of pagodas from Madras, ought to realise 500,000*l.* sterling. Mr. Egerton has written to Mr. Garrow to prepare himself; and your Lordship will, no doubt, adopt the proper means to obtain a conveyance for the treasure, if it be not judged expedient to despatch it in one or more of the Company's ships.

"With respect to further supplies, I shall only state my individual opinion, without pledging my friend Mr. Egerton—and it is, that an additional sum of 500,000*l.* may be sent from hence (or partly from hence, and partly from Bombay) in January next. This question, however, may well lie over for consideration, until we see the effect of the measures which it is proposed to pursue.

"It will not be practicable, I fear, to enter into the necessary explanations in reply to the late Financial despatch from the Honorable Court of Directors before the departure of the *Sir W. Burroughs;* but, if your Lordship approve, I can draft

* August 3, 1812.

a short letter, expressing deep regret at the disappointment which has been experienced—promising to furnish a detailed explanation of the causes by an early opportunity—and assuring the Honorable Court that a remittance of 500,000*l.* will be despatched as soon as a proper conveyance can be provided; and that the further sum of 500,000*l.* will be despatched in January, *if possible.* Your Lordship will, I conclude, write to the authorities at home; and I propose also to give all the information in my power to Sir H. Inglis, with whom I shall correspond regularly on this subject."

It need not be said that these efforts gave great satisfaction to the Company, or that the result was still more acceptable in Leadenhall-street. The treasure sent home by Mr. Tucker arrived at an opportune season, and was soon on its way to the Peninsula. In March, 1813, his friend and correspondent, the Chairman, Sir Hugh Inglis, wrote to him:

"The bullion you sent by the *Modeste* came most *à propos* both for the Company and for the public, as I have reason to believe the whole of it is gone or going to the Peninsula, where it is very much wanted for the payment of the troops, and the general support of the army. The further remittances in bullion will be most welcome, as they will be the means of placing the Company on better ground than they have occupied for some years past, especially if you can realise the expectation you give of sending, in addition to the 700,000*l.*, an anticipation of 250,000*l.* of next year's remittance. The aid derived, and to be derived from the bullion remittances, and the money due by Government for the advances made by the India Governments on account of the Expeditions, would have enabled us to have gone through this year without any Loan from the public, had we been able to keep our Bonds in circulation; but, unfortunately, they have been paid in upon our sales to such an amount as renders an application indispensable for a credit to the extent of 2,500,000*l.*, though I hope, when our affairs come

before Parliament, some arrangements will be made so as to raise our credit, and to restore confidence in our paper, and by that means render unnecessary, at least for this year, the credit we solicit."

If Mr. Tucker's previous services had not entitled him to a seat in Council, he had now fairly earned one. And there were honest, unprejudiced Directors in the Court, foremost amongst whom was Sir Hugh Inglis, a man of undoubted integrity and ability, who, thinking only of the interests of the public service, were eager to support his nomination to a provisional seat in the Government. But Mr. Tucker had his enemies in the Court, and the appointment was not carried:

"Before I left the Direction," wrote the late Chairman, at the end of April, 1813, "I had the pleasure of hearing of the second supply of bullion which came by the *President*, and by private letters I learnt that there were considerable sums on board the regular ships which Admiral Stopford had left at St. Helena. Though I considered the former supply by the *Modeste*, this by the *President*, and what we have further to receive, to be owing to your exertions, yet I am sorry to say, I found it impossible to accomplish what on public grounds I was most anxious to do—to nominate you a Provisional Counsellor.

"Mr. Thompson would inform you of the result, which I assuredly did not contemplate when I gave notice of my intention to propose you for the situation; but I have reason to believe that my intentions were frustrated by a most active canvass made by the friends of a gentleman of higher standing in the service than you; and when the time for decision came, I found *several* on whom I had depended, and even *some* that I considered your personal friends, were against me. Under these circumstances, I thought it more creditable to you to let the business pass without *any one* being appointed. I hope this circumstance will not induce you to leave India next January,

as in one of your letters you intimated that it was your intention to do; for I shall consider it a serious calamity if the Company are deprived of your most able services."

To Mr. Tucker, who had the strongest private reasons for wishing speedily to return to England—for the health of his beloved wife was failing—this was no disappointment. Indeed, he had ceased to think of official promotion—content still to do his duty, though in a subordinate capacity, in that Department to which he had so long been attached, and in which he had no competitor.

Indeed, there was much work for him still in this old Department of Finance. The Financial history of India is a history of Reactions. So it appeared, when Mr. Davis, who had been Accountant-General, and who, on his final return to England, had been elected a Member of the Court of Directors, wrote to Mr. Tucker in May, 1813: "You individually have great credit with the Court for the exertion the Governments of Bengal and Madras have made to send home the money-remittance; but I fear the strain has been to an extent that may be felt in your Finance Department. As to sending home an equal amount in the current year, or indeed making any similar remittance to England, until you are in a condition very different from what you were at the date of your last letter, I hope the Government abroad and the Court here will think it quite out of the question." And Mr. Davis was right. The strain upon the Indian Treasuries had been too great. And in a little while it was announced that whilst

the home Treasury was in a plethoric state—principally owing to the gorging effects of some lucky sales—the Indian Treasuries were in a state of collapse.

Indeed, before the middle of 1814, by which time Lord Moira had succeeded to the chief seat in the Government of India, there appeared to be strong symptoms of something like a Financial crisis. In May, Mr. Tucker wrote to Mr. Newnham, then Secretary at Bombay, giving a lamentable picture of the state of the Finances at the Chief Presidency. "To give your Government," he said, "an unlimited credit on Bengal, as heretofore, might subject us to great inconvenience. The bills which you drew about the end of last year, coming upon us as they did with other unexpected demands, had nearly reduced us to absolute bankruptcy. Our disbursements from the General Treasury alone in December and January last, amounted to 1,20,00,000 rupees, and during several days we had only 7 or 8,00,000 rupees in our Treasury. It is extremely hazardous just now to sail in such shallow water; and it required every effort to extricate ourselves at the period alluded to. You must be sensible that any derangement here would be felt in every money channel throughout India; and when financial derangement once takes place, it is not very easy to restore order."

The Governor-General, who had started on a visitation-tour through the Upper Provinces, soon became painfully conscious of this disagreeable fact. The scarcity of money stared him in the face at

every turn. "The grievous want of money throughout the country," he wrote to Mr. Tucker, "operates most mischievously against the interests of Government and the comfort of the inhabitants. The default of culture in the lands, through the inability of the Ryot to command the slender advances necessary for working it, and the insufficiency of the Zemindar to aid him, strikes the eye painfully at every step. It is only in the vicinity of some European, competent to furnish such assistance to the peasantry around him, that one sees any justice done to the soil—and it is to that inadequate relief alone that we must give the credit for the matters not being much worse. The dissemination of some amount of cash in a district is necessary to repair the constant drain made to Calcutta."

In this emergency it was necessary to look abroad for some extraordinary source of supply; and it is no insignificant proof of the real perplexity of Government at this period, that so practised a Financier as Mr. Tucker could think of no better aid, in the difficult conjuncture that had arisen, than a loan from a native Prince. Towards the end of July, he wrote to the Governor-General:

"MR. TUCKER TO LORD MOIRA.

"MY LORD,— . . . . I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that we have lately advanced the further sum of ten lakhs of rupees on account of the Investment; but I am apprehensive that we must now suspend our operations. The balance of the General Treasury has been much reduced; the collections in the Lower Provinces are now at a stand; and

we have thought it prudent to discontinue our drafts on the Western Provinces, as your Lordship may, eventually, require large funds in that quarter. We depend, in fact, just now, upon the salt revenue, for the supply of our General Treasury; and if the Honorable Court of Directors should grant bills on this Government in favor of individuals, (as I have reason to think they have done, or will do,) we shall find it very difficult, and perhaps impracticable, to provide for this, and other demands, from our ordinary resources.

"It has occurred to me, therefore, that it may be necessary to look abroad for some extraordinary source of supply; and as the late event in Oude might be supposed to open a prospect in that quarter, I consulted with Mr. Edmonstone yesterday on the subject. He is naturally averse to any step which might compromise the character of our Government in the minds of our neighbours, and of our own subjects, and he thinks that if we applied for a loan to the Newaub so immediately after his accession to the Government, it would be regarded by the natives, and perhaps by himself, as a consideration exacted for our services. The weight of this objection will be best estimated by your Lordship; but if it can be got over, we certainly should find it very convenient to obtain a supply of fifty to eighty lakhs of rupees at the present period. The accommodation would not, however, be very material if the loan were granted only for a short time; and should your Lordship see reason to entertain the proposition, I would beg to suggest that the sum which his Highness may be disposed to advance, be received as a subscription to our present six-per-cent. loan; and that the interest be made payable half-yearly or quarterly, by assignments on the treasuries of Rohilkund, or other treasuries in the Ceded Provinces. A strict Mussulman will not receive interest for money in its simple form; but the most orthodox will, I believe, receive the produce of money employed in trade; and I should imagine that any scruples of this kind might be overcome by granting an assignment on a particular province to the amount of the interest payable on the loan. If, indeed, the late Newaub should have made any disposition of his personal property in favor of the junior, or illegitimate, or

female branches of his family, perhaps this might be found the most convenient and effectual mode of securing a permanent provision for them.

"Your Lordship will, I hope, excuse my travelling out of my record on this occasion, as I do not often step beyond the borders of my own immediate province.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient, humble servant,

"H. St.George Tucker.

"Calcutta, 23rd July, 1814."

The proposal was sanctioned by Lord Moira; and Mr. Ricketts was instructed to negotiate the Loan. The scruples of the Newaùb, if he had any, were overcome; and he advanced a million of money in the shape of a subscription to the six-per-cent. loan. Announcing this to his old friend Mr. Davis, Mr. Tucker enters at some length into the general politics of the times. What his political views were, may be gathered from the following letter. He had seen too much of financial embarrassment—financial embarrassment engendered by costly wars—not to tremble when he saw Lord Moira embarking in great military operations, and swallowing up the revenues of the State with something of a Wellesleyan appetite. The letter is a curious and suggestive one, if only on account of the glimpses which it affords of the strong opinions on Indian politics which he afterwards entertained, and the emphatic manner in which he expressed them:

"MR. TUCKER TO MR. DAVIS.

"Calcutta, 12th Nov., 1814.

"Dear Davis,—Since I wrote to you on the 4th instant we have received official advice from Lord Moira of his having

obtained a crore of rupees on loan from the Newaub of Oude, one moiety of which is to be received immediately, and the other moiety on the 1st March. The money is to be paid in as a subscription to the six-per-cent. loan; and this is obviously the best footing on which we could have obtained it. Some special arrangement is to be made with regard to the payment of the interest, with a view, as I conceive, to obviate Mussulman scruples.

"We lost no time here in calling upon Egerton to report on the best mode of disposing of our superfluities; and his letter is at present in circulation. We shall, I hope, commence immediately on the payment of debt; and although there are some serious contingencies impending, I have urged that we should discharge the Bombay eight-per-cent. debt, with a small amount of six per cent. standing before it on the Register, amounting together to 54,56,000 rupees. We shall begin to advertise next week; and the operation will, I trust, be completed by the 30th of April. Two objects will be gained by it. We shall raise the value of our paper, and supply the houses of business with funds. They are the principal holders of the paper which will be paid off; and it is on every account much better to assist them in this way, for whenever we send them money there is difficulty and dissatisfaction experienced when the day of payment arrives.

"With this loan from the Newaub we should have performed glorious service, if we could have ventured to bring all our resources into action; but, not content with our Nepaul expedition, we are, I find, meditating other projects which may involve us in a general war. I have seen nothing of the correspondence, and I have heard but little on the subject, so that my opinion cannot have any solid foundation. I do think, however, that, while the whole of our disposable force is employed on our Northern frontier, it would have been as prudent to allow affairs to remain in tranquillity to the South. But then I shall be told, an opportunity presents itself which may never again occur. What is this opportunity? The Newaub of Bhopaul and the Chief of Saugor are threatened by Laindich and the Rajah of Berar. Now, by fixing our-

selves in the little principality of Bhopaul, we shall gain a fulcrum, from which we may sweep away or smash the Pindarries, and drive a subsidiary treaty down the throat of the Berar Rajah. Saugor, too, is a fine central point, round which we may draw certain magic circles for promoting the success of the same object.

"This may be all very good; but I say we must be dotards if we cannot make as good an opportunity at any time. When did ambition ever want opportunities for developing itself? We must be downright bunglers if we cannot find at any moment an excuse for interfering in the affairs of Hindostan and the Dekhun, disturbed as they are at present with jarring interests.

"And what, after all, is the end proposed? I asked a friend of mine, whom you esteem as much as I do, 'Do you propose to hang up the Pindarries at the nearest tree? Do you expect by hard blows at once to effect a change in their character and habits of life? Do you intend to give them employment in your service, or to bestow on them, otherwise, the means of subsistence?' The answer was, 'We think it necessary to prevent their future incursions into our territory, and for this purpose it is necessary to expel them from the position which they have occupied on the line of the Nerbuddah.'

"I do not mean to say that it is not desirable to do this and many other things; but I do think that these plunderers are likely to be less troublesome when they obtain some territorial footing; and I am quite satisfied that, extend your frontier as far as you please, you will be liable always to have troublesome neighbours, whom it will not be quite convenient to annihilate. Annihilate you must, in pretty round numbers, if you are determined that no soldiers of fortune shall remain in any part of India.

"As for subsidiary treaties, I am sick of the very term. Lord Wellesley was for firing off these treaties at every man with a blunderbuss; but I had hoped that there was an end of these forcible operations. After sacrificing, too, a little reputation to the object of extricating ourselves from a connexion with the petty states of Hindostan, I did not certainly expect

that we should volunteer our services to support the Newaub of Bhopaul, or the Chief of Saugor. The mischief is, that the frequent change of our statesmen in this country must cause a change of measures, and even of principles. What must the natives think of our maxims of policy, when we one day break a treaty with the Rajah of Jeypore because we wish to withdraw from foreign connexions—and the next, form a treaty with the Newaub of Bhopaul, for a directly contrary reason? I am no politician myself; and I know that the idea of justice and morality in politics is matter of ridicule;—but, justice and morality out of the question, I cannot perceive the policy of our engaging more deeply in the affairs of Hindostan. Our military power is so formidable, that we are not likely to be attacked; and as for the Pindarries—it would be quite sufficient, I think, to beat them down whenever they presumed to show themselves in the neighbourhood of our territory. Defensive precautions might have cost us a few thousands or hundred thousands annually; but a war with the Mahratta States will cost us more than I would venture to estimate. Fortunately, they are not very well prepared, and they are not very enterprising, or they might at this moment—when our southern frontier is completely ungarnished of troops—sweep through the Doaub, and levy contributions within the sacred limits of Benares. We common men can only say, 'let the General look to that.' . . . .

"Farewell—with best wishes, believe me

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"P.S. 14th Nov.—The difficulties of our Nepaulese enterprise are beginning to show themselves even sooner than I had apprehended. An express has just been received, announcing that General Gillespie had been repulsed and killed in an attempt to carry Kalounga by assault. We have lost, it is said, about 400 men, killed and wounded, and I fear a large proportion of Europeans and officers. This is a very inauspicious commencement; but we are now fairly in for the service, and must go on. What an opportunity for the Mahrattas, while we are knocking

our heads against these mountains; but they are, I trust, in too distracted a state to avail themselves of it. Ought we to give such opportunities unnecessarily? and is there wisdom in provoking one neighbour, while we are endeavoring to subdue another? These are very simple questions, no doubt, and it would be silly almost to propose them, if our conduct did not justify them. This first failure may possibly have a good effect in inducing Lord Moira to withdraw from his southern projects; and, in fact, I am not so much afraid of the Nepaulese as I am of our southern neighbours. The former may repulse us; but they cannot follow up their success. They have no description of force which could act with effect on the plains; and they are not, therefore, formidable in offensive operations against us. The force which might assail us from the south, is of a character directly opposite. I shall not be surprised if Lord M. should now be induced to take the field, especially if our difficulties should increase upon us. There is a little of the romantic in his character, and I think he will like to take a part, if there should be any serious work on hand. This may be all very right; but what I object to is, that he should have made such work for himself without a necessity. I already look upon our crore of rupees as upon a departed spirit. Our financial operations will, I fear, be suspended, although I shall myself vote for getting rid of our eight per cents. at all hazards. There are more crores in the same coffers, if we should be much at a loss; and we may repay them with the sovereignty of Nepaul, if we should succeed in conquering it. I am only surprised that any individual should prefer war to peace, after the example of the French Emperor.

"Farewell, sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. T."

From the military operations in which Lord Hastings had embarked, Mr. Tucker had too much reason to anticipate the most calamitous financial results; but he afterwards acknowledged that the evils which he predicted had been fortunately

averted. "The Marquis of Hastings," he wrote ten years afterwards, "unquestionably left the Finances of India in a most flourishing condition. Hostilities had been carried on, upon an extensive scale, without causing any very large addition to be made to the public burdens." A sum of about a million of money "received from the King of Oude, for the sale of Kyraghur, reduced the military charge of 1815-16. Large consignments of bullion were also received from England, remitted from the 'Surplus Fund of Commercial Profit;' and these tended materially to prevent the increase of debt, and to facilitate all the financial operations of the Government abroad." "Still," added Mr. Tucker, "it is but just to Lord Hastings to notice, that his Lordship's military expenditure, as compared with that in the preceding Mahratta war, was very moderate, as was shown by the Commissary-General. This is to be ascribed, partly to the establishment of an efficient Commissariat by Sir George Hewett, during the administration of Lord Minto—partly to the extent of our pecuniary resources, which enabled the Government to discharge the irregular troops the moment their services were no longer wanted; and partly to the strict attention paid by Lord Hastings to economy in his military dispositions as Commander-in-Chief."*

But the time was fast approaching when Mr. Tucker's ministerial connexion with the Finances of India—indeed with all the official business of the

* Review of the Financial situation of the East India Company in 1824.

State—was permanently to cease. The health of his wife had been, for some time, declining. The climate manifestly did not agree with her constitution. She had more than once been prostrated by fever, so severe and exhausting, that Mr. Tucker had trembled for her life. It was in no small measure owing to his unremitting care and attention—to the love which took no account of fatigue, to the almost womanly tenderness and patience with which he watched by her sick bed, and ministered to her wants, that, under Providence, she was enabled to struggle through these fearful maladies. But his apprehensions of the too great danger of another such attack, moved him to prepare for his final departure from India. There was nothing in the country—no wealth, no honor, that it could yield—to tempt him to incur so terrible a risk.

These years, indeed, of his second visit to India, had not been years of unclouded happiness. The death of his niece, and the repeated illnesses of his wife, had tried him sorely in the furnace of affliction. But another great sorrow had also been dispensed to him. In the course of 1814 tidings reached him of the death of his beloved mother. When he opened the letter announcing this mournful event, he was moved as he had never been before. Habituated as he was to self-control, he gave way to a paroxysm of grief; threw himself into a chair, wept aloud, and for a time was not to be comforted.

But in the domestic history of most men there are blessed compensations. Henry St.George Tucker

was now parentless; but he had become a parent. His mother had lived long enough to congratulate him on the birth of his first-born. It was such congratulation, too, as delights the soul of the recipient. "May the child," she wrote, "in every respect resemble his parents; and be as great a comfort to them, as our beloved Henry has been to us." Alike by Father and by Mother had this praise been often uttered before; and most merited, indeed, was the laudation. He had been the prop and the solace of their declining years. From the fruits of his toil he had contributed largely to the comforts of their home. His generosity was that true generosity of the heart which blesses alike the giver and the receiver, and never makes bounty burdensome. It is to be hoped that filial piety is not rare. The gracious privilege of paying back in maturity the care and kindness lavished upon the child may not be vouchsafed to many; but for the honor of human nature we would fain assume that when vouchsafed it is seldom rejected. It is an error in Biography to claim for each individual quality commented upon, something peculiar to the possessor. If there were not a peculiar combination of qualities, there would be little for the Biographer to record. But the peculiarity resides in the combination, not in the individual virtues. Rare qualities are one thing; a rare character is another.

The thought of all these gaps in the family circle may have done something to moderate the intensity of Mr. Tucker's yearnings after home; but the

health of his wife was a paramount consideration, and before the close of 1814, he had come to the resolution of removing her to a milder climate. Official advancement was then within his reach; but he was indifferent about it. The Court of Directors had disapproved of the creation of the new appointment bestowed upon Mr. Tucker, and in a letter most flattering to the incumbent himself, had directed the abolition of the office.* "With respect to the proposed arrangement," wrote Mr. Tucker at the end of October, "as it may affect me individually, I have little to say. During the short period in which I am likely to remain in India, I shall be glad to do all in my power to promote the public service; but I have no wish or intention to continue long in that service, and the abolition of my present office would not, therefore, give me any concern. The Colonies cannot well be transferred for six or eight months, and beyond that period I shall not be disposed to retain the office, whatever may be the disposition of the Court of Directors, or of this Government." But before definite instructions for the abolition of the Colonial Secretaryship had been received, Mr. Tucker was promoted to a higher office. The

* "We entertain," wrote the Court of Directors, "a very high opinion of the abilities and zeal of Mr. Tucker, and we are satisfied that you could have selected no one of our servants who would discharge the duties confided to him with more advantage to the public service; but we cannot, under the actual state of our Finances, approve of your having incurred this additional expense; and we direct that the office be discontinued upon the receipt of this despatch. We, however, recommend Mr. Tucker to particular attention, when any office may fall vacant suitable to his rank and claims in the service."—For the Indian Government's justification of this appointment, see a document in the Appendix.

Chief Secretary, Dowdeswell, succeeded to a seat in Council; and Mr. Tucker was appointed Chief Secretary to Government in his place.

On the 28th of December, 1814, this appointment passed Council. On the following day Mr. Tucker wrote privately to his friend Edmonstone, who was then Vice-President: "You already know that the state of Mrs. Tucker's health requires a change of climate; but instead of passing the hot weather at Chittagong, as I had proposed, it is my intention to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or St. Helena, and eventually to England; and it is proper that I should give you the earliest intimation of this intention." Soon afterwards he sent in a formal application for leave to proceed with his family to the Cape of Good Hope or St. Helena, in the Honorable Company's ship *Marchioness of Ely*, and to be absent from the duties of his office for a period of six months from the date of his embarkation. And on the 10th of February, 1815, the leave he sought was officially granted.

And so they bade adieu to India. They sailed for the Cape in the *Marchioness of Ely*; and eventually went on to England. The health of Mrs. Tucker improved under the influence of the sea-voyage; but it was thought advisable to proceed onward, that the invalid might enjoy the benefit of a return to the climate of her native home. So Mr. Tucker despatched from St. Helena a formal resignation of his appointment, and returned to his ship-board cabin. The passage was a long and a

fatiguing one; and it was not until the month of August that they sighted the white coast of Great Britain.

He had now made up his mind to retire altogether from the active service of the Company. He was in his forty-fifth year. He had served the State in various capacities for nearly thirty years; and he had amassed a moderate fortune. The Government of Java was designed for him; but he had seen enough of Eastern life, and desired nothing more than rest, domestic enjoyment, and literary leisure. All these were now within his reach; and he was abundantly content.

On his arrival in London he waited upon the Indian authorities, and was received by them with marked consideration. He had much information to impart, and the exposition of his views on the great political questions of the day was listened to with the greatest respect. To his friend Mr. Edmonstone he wrote in October, with especial reference to his conversations with Lord Buckinghamshire, who then presided at the Board of Control. He had by this time quitted the southern metropolis, and was on a visit to his friends in the North:

"TO N. B. EDMONSTONE, ESQ.

"Caverse, 1st October, 1815.

"DEAR EDMONSTONE,—I ought to have written to you much sooner; but a man arriving in a new country finds abundance to do, and what is worse, he finds strong inducements to be idle.

"This was my case; and I am apprehensive that the habits

of idleness are not likely to be dissipated, now that I have really nothing to do, unless I choose to cull flowers, or to make verses on cows, sheep, and other Arcadian objects!

"On my arrival in London, I of course waited on the Indian authorities, and I had a long interview with Lord Buckinghamshire, who seemed to be very anxious to obtain information regarding the state of affairs in India. I gave his Lordship the best information I could; and I gave also my own opinion on questions which were proposed to me. Lord B. was also very desirous of knowing *your* opinions on particular points; and although it was a very delicate office to undertake, I did not hesitate in stating what I believed to be your sentiments on some of our late measures. The necessity for the Nepaulese war seems to be very generally admitted; but our proceedings to the south are quite incomprehensible to all parties, as well those who possess information, as those who are debarred access to the official documents. You will be surprised to hear that the great majority of the Directors are in the latter class, the secret correspondence being withheld from them; and even Davis, one of the most active and intelligent of the corps, had never heard of your controversial minutes with Lord Moira, until I mentioned them to him.

"I was particularly glad that I had seen these documents; for I took occasion to refer Lord Buckinghamshire to them, and had the satisfaction to find that they were quite familiar to his Lordship, although unknown to Davis. Lord B. spoke of them as being most able productions; and I can assure you that your public character is justly appreciated, both at the Board of Control and in Leadenhall-street. I had some difficulty in satisfying Mr. Reid, the Deputy Chairman, that you could not possibly have accompanied the Governor-General on his tour; for he, Mr. R., was disposed to attribute all our embarrassments to your having remained behind—an opinion in which he is not, I fancy, quite singular.

"In venturing to state what I believed to be your opinions, I of course took care to observe as much delicacy as possible towards Lord Moira. On the main question, I stated distinctly that, desirable as you considered it that effectual means should

be taken to suppress the Pindarries, you were of opinion that no decisive step should be taken with a view to this object until a reply should be received to the reference which had been made to the public authorities at home; and that, whatever judgment might be formed with regard to the projected connexion with the principalities of Bhopaul and Saugor, you were of opinion that the agitation of these questions was unseasonable and unfortunate. On the employment of irregular corps, and some other minor points, I could speak from public documents, and I ran no risk, therefore, of mis-stating your opinions. My own I gave, as I usually do on such occasions, with no other reserve than what consideration towards others suggests as being proper. . . . .

"I urged on Lord Buckinghamshire the expediency and the necessity of your being furnished *immediately* with a supply of bullion, to enable you to pay your army, and to keep faith with the public creditors; and his Lordship appeared to be so impressed with this necessity, that he despatched a messenger to the Admiralty, while I was with him, to expedite the equipment of the frigate; but some assurance had been given that the seamen should have liberty to spend their money, and it was found that not a single ship could be manned while a guinea remained. A large supply of money will, however, be sent both to China and India, for the Directors have about two millions sterling in their Treasury almost in a state of inactivity.

"I insisted at the India House, with little success, that the money destined for China should all be consigned to you; but they will not trust you further than is necessary, and they seem not at all confident that what they may send will be applied to the proper object. Your Lucknow Loans have done you good service; and they will, I hope, carry you fairly through the present year; but this cannot be looked to as an every-day resource, and I am not quite certain that your possessing such a resource has been regarded with much exultation at the India House.

"You will, I think, have been a little surprised at their having abolished my office of Secretary; but Lord Bucking-

hamshire informed me that I was intended for the Government of Java, and that he had written to Lord Moira to appoint me to it. I thanked his Lordship, but told him it was an honor which I must have declined, and that I had quitted India with no intention of ever returning to it.

"The Lumsden and Davis families are your only connexions whom I met in London; and as they correspond with you, I shall leave them to give an account of themselves. Lumsden is canvassing for the Direction, and with every prospect of success, for his character, public and private, is well known, and he will, I hope, be supported at the India House and by Lord Buckinghamshire. He must, however, wait another year before he is considered qualified for this high honor. . . . .

"Believe me ever, with great esteem,

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"P.S.—I pass the winter in Edinburgh; but prepare to return to England with my family early in spring."

CHAPTER XI.

Residence in Edinburgh—Journey to London—Adventures on the Road—Residence in London—Excursion in Wales—Visit to Ireland—Thoughts of Public Life.

Settled with his wife and children, and surrounded by the relatives of the former, in the Scottish capital, Mr. Tucker now found himself for the first time in the full enjoyment of the literary leisure for which he had so often sighed. He was an enthusiast after knowledge of all kinds; and now day after day he was to be seen, at the age of forty-five, attending the lectures of the Edinburgh professors—of Hope, Playfair, and others—with as much ardor as the most ambitious of the youthful students who sate in the class beside him. The lecture over, he seldom failed to hurry off to St. Andrew's and to St. George's-square, to pay a visit to Mrs. Boswell and to Mrs. Carre—a visit always looked for and always enjoyed, for he had truly become to the latter an affectionate brother, and to the former a dutiful son.

In the society of the neighbourhood he mixed, but with becoming moderation. He had many friends and many connexions in Edinburgh, and he delighted to see them assembled at his own hospitable board. This was the convivial intercourse which pleased him best; for it gratified at once his social propensities and his affection for home.

But this pleasant life was broken in upon by an event of a painful nature, arising out of the circumstances of a near relative, which compelled his presence in London. The business was of so distressing a nature, and the anxiety it occasioned him was so great, that during the two or three days which preceded his departure there was a marked change in his appearance. A worn and harassed look betokened the intensity of the inward struggle. He set out under great depression of spirits, in the midst of a violent snow-storm, although it was in the middle of the month of May.

The excitement of the journey to the South seems in some measure to have restored his composure; and he wrote cheerfully from Newark an amusing account of his travels across the Border. In those days a man, between Edinburgh and London, might meet with adventures sufficient to fill a volume, and companions enough to stock a portfolio with their portraits. I shall devote this chapter to private affairs, and leave Mr. Tucker's family letters to carry on the story of his life. His journey to London, and his residence in the metropolis in 1816, are the first incidents described:

"Newark, Tuesday, 6 o'clock A.M.

". . . . . . My progress hitherto has been much like the ordinary progress of human life, sometimes smooth and pleasant, and occasionally rough and disagreeable enough. From Edinburgh to Berwick I had a companion who was completely drunk, and who took care to renew the stimulus (although it was scarcely necessary) whenever the mail halted for a few minutes. From his conversation while asleep (for he was stupidly silent while awake), I discovered that he was a sailor, and probably the master of a Berwick smack, under whose good guidance I should be sorry to place myself. In his sleep he was very lively as well as talkative, and he began at one time to figure away with his feet at the roof of the mail; but as I did not much admire his dancing, I took the liberty to interfere and put his legs in their proper place. Luckily he was good-humored in his cups, and he took my hints in good part; and on my presenting him with a few gingerbread-nuts (a present from Alexander) . . . . . he gave me a most cordial invitation 'to take *pot-luck* with him' at Berwick. As we did not arrive, however, until near midnight, the invitation would not have been very seasonable, even if the host had been in better condition to entertain his friends.

"Throughout the whole journey, as far as Newcastle, we had a violent storm of snow, rain, and sleet; and the cold was more severe than I have felt it during the winter. The coach was not wind-tight at the bottom; and as I was obliged to keep my window open to allow the escape of certain fumes, the produce of whisky, rum, and brandy, I felt the cold so pinching, that I should have been glad of Mrs. S.'s fur cap, and the Doctor's capacious worsted stockings; but as these were not at hand, and I was too lazy to look out for substitutes, the night was not passed quite so snugly as I have passed nights at Bonington and elsewhere. To aggravate the evil, I had not a decent companion to converse with. We picked up sundry vagabonds on the road; but there was only one, between Edinburgh and York, who bore the slightest appearance of being a gentleman. The exception, too, a genteel-looking young man, who joined

at Durham, was not a very valuable acquisition, for he was effeminate and affected. In addition to a great-coat, he had an immense surtout, resembling a Japan gown; and I was at no loss to discover that he was some spoilt child, whose mamma had shown more fondness than wisdom. He professed to be very fond of reading in the mail, (rather an odd taste,) and he told me he had got through two volumes on his last journey; but I suspect his reading on these occasions was not to much purpose, for I seldom turned towards him without catching him peeping from under his eye, in search of a little admiration. We had but one female in this part of the journey, whom I at first took to be a Quaker, but who afterwards proved to be a sturdy Jacobite. She was lamenting that we should have no *oak*-leaves to wear on the 29th of May; and I, who neither recollected the origin of the custom nor the custom itself, stupidly observed that I was not aware of the motive for wearing oak-leaves on any particular day. 'Then, Sir,' said she, 'you cannot be a *Protestant*.' I protested that I was a Protestant; and even if I had been a Jew or a Turk, I could not discover the legitimacy of the lady's inferences.

"As far as Newcastle, all was sterility and dreariness; and you may tell Mrs. S. that even as far as York I met with nothing so summer-like as her garden. Not a rose was to be seen on the road; and if the hedges contained auriculas or violets, they were concealed in the snow. The country between Newcastle and York was in an intermediate state, hesitating between winter and spring; but as soon as you pass the latter city, the most beautiful verdure appears, and you find yourself *really in England.* The neat cottages then present themselves, and everything looks so cheerful and blooming, and rich and elegant, that you cannot doubt the fact of your having passed from the barren heaths of Scotland to a civilised country.

"I reached York at about ten o'clock at night, and was not at all fatigued with the journey——

"Here am I at the end of my first sheet, without having advanced beyond the city of York; but from thence my journey has been much more pleasant. The weather has been delight-

ful; and in the 'High Flyer' I have been much more fortunate in my companions. The mail coachmen, I suspect, pick up any vagrants who can afford to give them a few shillings or pence to convey them a short distance; but in the High Flyer things were different. Our party consisted of a General Hunter and his son, a lieutenant in the 52nd Regiment, a major on the Madras establishment (I believe), whose face was very familiar to me, an Englishman from Aberdeen, who had met Lumsden, and others of my acquaintance, a spruce citizen, and, for a short time, an honest, fat, Yorkshire yeoman. The Aberdeen man entered very soon into an argument with me on Finance; and not suspecting his opponent, he told me very bluntly that one part of my argument overset the other. I smiled at this; and, determining not to be whipped in my own school, I began a regular attack, called upon him to define his terms, then placed myself close along side; and in the course of a very few broadsides, I completely silenced his fire. I did not, however, wound his self-love by any undue exultation; and we parted the best friends possible. Indeed, he came up to shake hands with me on taking leave; and both he and my friend the major expressed great regret that I was not to continue the journey with them. This was no small compliment, considering that the coach was crammed with six lusty fellows, all as fat as myself!

"On this part of the journey, too, we had only one female companion, and she remained with us only ten minutes. She was going to a fair at Tuxford; and that she might make her appearance with *éclat*, she begged General Hunter to allow her to take his place in the inside. To this he, very good humouredly, consented. . . . .

"We had a great deal of pleasant conversation during this part of our journey; but the sketch which I have given of our party must content you for the present. We arrived at this place (a distance of seventy miles from York) between six and seven o'clock in the evening: we all dined together, and I remained here, and passed a tolerable night. I got up this morning betimes to write to you; and after breakfast I shall resume my

journey in the mail, and shall reach London, I expect, about five o'clock to-morrow morning. . . . . .

" . . . . Heaven bless and preserve you all; and may I find you all on my return as well and as happy as when I left you.

" Ever most affectionately yours,
" H. St.G. Tucker."

"27, Leicester-square, May 16, 1816.

" . . . . . I believe I gave you pretty nearly a complete journal of my travels. My Aberdeen acquaintance turns out to be Mr. Irvine of Drum, of a very old and opulent family in Aberdeen, and a very respectable, well-informed man. I took him for *one of us;* and he was, perhaps, educated in England. The last stage of my journey from Newark was passed in a very comfortable manner. I had only two companions: the one an enormous fat man, who occupied one side of the carriage: the other, the son of a clergyman in Essex, who, although not very brilliant, appeared to be a decent, well-behaved man. Upon the ground of this appearance, I lent him two shillings to pay the coachman at Huntingdon; but as the gentleman did not think it necessary to repay the debt, I began to waver in my opinion of him, and during the latter part of the journey I stood aloof. *Mem.* to insert in my Common-place Book—Never to volunteer the loan of money to entire strangers; and if I should be more cautious in future, the lesson will not be purchased dearly at two shillings. I endeavored to recollect if I had drawn any information from him, or acquired any other advantage from his company, to repay me for my shillings; but the only thing I can remember is his explanation of the origin of Wandsford being called 'Wandsford *in England.*' A peasant fell asleep on a stack of hay, and was carried into the river by a sudden flood. When he was at length picked up by the country people, he asked where he was? They told him at Wandsford. 'What, at Wandsford *in England?* Bless me—I thought I was gone abroad.' This is scarcely worth two shillings, although brother C. might make something of such

materials. If he will take the bargain off my hands, let him give me two shillings, and he is welcome."

The date of the preceding letter shows that Mr. Tucker had taken up his quarters in Leicester-square, where, after considerable trouble, he had managed to secure lodgings. London was at this time unwontedly full—fuller even than it commonly is, at this fullest season of the year. "From about five o'clock to seven or eight," he wrote on his arrival, "I was running about in search of a place of shelter for myself and my trunk. I was refused admittance at seven different hotels, both in the fashionable and unfashionable parts of the town." A friend, however, had secured apartments for him, "none of the best," and to these he betook himself, and set resolutely about his work. He had much to do besides the immediate business which had brought him to town. His letters written from Leicester-square, exhibit him now calling at the India House and at the Board of Control*—now looking after his tenants at Crayford—now winding up the affairs of his deceased father, the Bermuda treasurer, and convincing the Audit Office of the correctness of the accounts—now advancing his brother's interests at the Horse Guards—now visiting his old friend Sir G. Barlow—now dining with old schoolfellows, and after a lapse of thirty years being familiarly addressed by them as "Harry"

* He wrote, however, very emphatically at this time, "I do not mean to trouble myself with India matters; for I shall have trouble enough probably with my own concerns."

—now attending the theatres and seeing Miss O'Neill and Edmund Kean—and now complaining that there was no good music to be heard at the Opera House:

"Leicester-square, 21st May, 1816.

"I dined as I mentioned I should at the S——'s. In the evening, we had a rubber at whist; and I was so lucky as to come off winner four shillings, a sum more than sufficient to pay for the dirtiest hackney coach I ever chanced to meet. My two schoolfellows were present; and they seemed really glad to see me. It appeared strange, after the lapse of thirty years, to be called by them 'Harry,' just as if we had lived together all the time. They both urged me to come and settle among them near Southampton, and they mentioned half a dozen charming places for sale in their neighbourhood, and all great bargains. What is to be done? . . . .

"Tell sister M., with my kind love, that I saw her boys at C., and that I was well pleased with their appearance. I have not yet seen Mr. Colebrooke.

"I went yesterday to the Horse Guards, and had an interview with my friend Shawe, and with another of the Duke of York's staff. From what they tell me, I think Charlton is pretty secure of his troop; but Shawe recommended that I should have an interview with Sir H. Torrens, the Military Secretary, and I am accordingly to see him this morning at two o'clock, after my return from the city. Shawe is very cordial; and it is satisfactory to find that you are not forgotten by your friends.

"I afterwards went to Somerset House, to call on Mr. M., the Auditor of the Exchequer, and I found my father's accounts in a more promising state than I could well have expected. They all acknowledge his extraordinary regularity and correctness; and there is not an item of the account which would not have been passed if he had lived to settle it. Even under every disadvantage, all the larger items will, I trust, be passed; and those which cannot be admitted, from some defect

of form, or from want of explanation, will not, I hope, amount to more than 50*l*., a sum which I shall very readily pay, if necessary. The adjustment of the account will take place probably in July next; and I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that you and our dear boy can never be troubled on the subject when I am no longer here to manage such concerns.

"I dined with L., and went afterwards to the play to see Miss O'Neill. She is certainly a good performer; but the piece was not a good one ('The Jealous Wife'), and I was, upon the whole, rather disappointed. We came away before the farce was half over, for we were all sufficiently tired. I have little enjoyment now in the theatre; and as Madame Catalini is abroad, I shall not probably go to the Opera."

"Leicester-square, 23rd May, 1816.

"After writing to you on Saturday, I had a very busy day. I called twice on Mr. G.; but I have never yet been so fortunate as to meet him. I next proceeded to the Board of Control; and left my card for Mr. Sullivan. There is no President to the Board just now; and indeed, to prevent the possibility of any reference to me on business, I do not even leave my address on my cards.

"I then went to the Audit Office, to inquire into the state of my poor father's accounts; and I had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Rawlinson, who, without any exception, is one of the most gentlemanly men of business I have ever met with in public life. I thought we were patterns in India; but he is quite equal to the best of us. He seemed to take a personal interest in my concerns; and he has put me in a way, I hope, of bringing the question to a final settlement. He took the trouble to go over and explain to me the different reports; and if I find Mr. M., the auditor of the Treasury, equally accommodating, I foresee no further difficulties. At all events, if I do not succeed here, I shall write to Mr. G., or to Mr. L., the joint secretaries; and I have no doubt that the ultimate demand will be much reduced, if it be not altogether relinquished. . . . . .

"At Chiselhurst I met C., and found them all tolerably well.

Next day I rode over to Crayford. There I had the satisfaction to find our estate in the best possible condition, owing to the exertions of one of the sub-tenants, a gardener, who tells me that he has laid out 500*l.* on the cottage, and 700*l.* on the ground in his occupancy. He has, in fact, converted ten acres of the land into a beautiful garden ; and the tenants, I suppose, receive from him more than they have engaged to pay me . . . I walked over the estate, examined the cottage, &c., and looked as big and as important as any Scotch laird in the land! The ride was pleasant, and the visit to this little property was altogether very satisfactory. It will, I hope, be a more valuable possession to our dear boy. I saw many houses in Kent which I thought would have suited us nicely ; but I do not repent of our purchase in Charlotte-square. Kent is a delightful county; the beautiful verdure, the fine trees, the undulating nature of the ground, &c., &c., all concur to render it a most picturesque country.

"29, Leicester-square, 27th May, 1816.

". . . . . . After dressing and taking my dish of tea, I went to Davis, in Portland-place, and from thence proceeded, after breakfast, to Lumsden, in Gloucester-place, from whence I accompanied him to pay a visit to Sir G. Barlow, at Streatham. Sir George was well, and in good spirits, and he appeared to be really glad to see us, and highly delighted with our visit. On my return to town, I waited on Mr. Sullivan, at the Board of Control, and had a pretty long interview with him, which I was obliged to put an end to, in order to save my dinner. He received me most graciously, and I was glad that I had devoted an hour to pay him this attention. After returning home and dressing for the Opera, I went into the city by water, dined with E., got your dear letters, set out for the Opera on foot (no coaches being procurable near at hand) with C. and cousin J., in a shower of rain—got a coach at length in Cheapside—put down J., proceeded to the Opera, got a good seat in the pit, heard execrable music, saw very indifferent dancing, but had the satisfaction of sitting within four or five yards of the Princess Charlotte and her good man. I

will describe both when we meet. He is a good-looking man, with a sombre, thoughtful countenance—she is a laughing, careless girl, with more spirits, perhaps, than discretion. The Opera is miserably fallen off in every particular, and I should never think of attending it a second time in its present condition. Madame Merconi was the only tolerable singer, and she performed a male character. C. and I returned home in what you would call a *pour* of rain; but I suffered no other injury than what befel my black silk stockings.

"Lord Melville, it is said, comes into the Board of Control, and leaves the Admiralty to Mr. Canning. This arrangement I should like, if I had any concern in Indian affairs; but I take little interest in them at present, and I am likely to feel less every day.

"I take my seat in the mail to-day, and, please Heaven! I shall have the happiness of seeing you again on Saturday next. I shall not probably write to you to-morrow, unless something should occur to detain me, for I shall have enough to do on leaving town. I have no fear of detention, however; nor am I aware that I shall have left anything essential undone, with the exception of the question with Mr. Adams. . . . .

"I dine to-day with the L.'s, and accompany them to the theatre to see Mr. Kean and the new tragedy. I shall therefore have seen most of the sights; but there is no sight which can gratify me half so much as that of my own dear J—— and her sweet pets; and it must be something very urgent indeed which can ever induce me to leave them again. I shall leave this place with joy, although the longer you stay in it the more you become reconciled to it."

Mr. Tucker returned to Edinburgh poorer by 4000*l.* It had cost him that sum to arrange the business which had carried him to the south of the Tweed.

The autumn and winter of this year and the spring of 1817 were spent principally in the Scottish

capital. In the summer, accompanied by his sister-in-law, he undertook an excursion to the Welsh counties, with the intermediate object of visiting some friends at Backford, in Cheshire, from which he proceeded to Tenby, Carmarthen, and other places. His impressions are conveyed with much liveliness of manner in the letters which he wrote to Edinburgh at the time:

"Backford, 21st June, 1817.

". . . . I did not write to you yesterday, as we sallied out immediately after breakfast, and did not return until late, after having undergone a sort of boiling process in a hot-house, in addition to the roasting effects of a burning sun. I shall now give you a brief journal of our transactions.

"On the evening of my arrival, E. and I took a long ramble on foot into the fields, for the purpose of viewing and exploring; but there is nothing very delightful in the aspect of the country. It is flat, with little diversity of scenery: the trees are stunted, and bend generally in one direction: the brick houses are mean in appearance: the roads are dusty and bad; and, in short, there is no prospect which can compare at all with that from my own window. Backford itself is a commodious house, and it is comfortably furnished. . . . . Yesterday morning we set out for 'Eaton,' the seat of Lord Grosvenor, distant from hence about seven miles; and a most magnificent palace it is! When I tell you that it cost 400,000*l.*, you will conclude that it ought to be something worth seeing; and in truth it is a most costly and superb mansion. I must, however, discover defects in everything which is not my own; and here the fault is, that everything is too fine: ornaments are heaped upon ornaments; and there is throughout a lavish and a gaudy display of splendid decorations. The Mausoleum at Agra is as rich in beauties, and those beauties are more chaste and simple. The building, which is in the Gothic style, is, nevertheless, very handsome: the painted glass windows are most resplendent

and beautiful: the staircase is superior to anything of the kind I have ever seen; and the *tout-ensemble* has a noble effect. The gardens and grounds are extensive: the green-house and hot-house very large; and there is everything which you can imagine to be necessary to form a princely establishment. I was surprised, however, to see so few pictures. There are scarcely a dozen in the house; and these are chiefly by West. There are only two or three by the old masters, and they are not at all remarkable.

". . . . We dine to day with Mrs. E——; but first we pay a visit to Lady B. at Hoole, which is only three or four miles from hence. To-morrow we attend Divine Service at the cathedral. On Monday we go to Oulton. On Tuesday we shall rest ourselves, I hope, at home; and on Wednesday I shall pursue my journey through Wales.

"Farewell. . . . . I must now take an abrupt leave. I shall hope to receive a letter from you to-morrow, and I am longing for it. Heaven protect and bless you all!

"Ever yours, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"Cheltenham, 1st July, 1817.

". . . . I was delighted just now at receiving your letter of Friday last. I had become a little impatient to hear from you, and yet I scarcely expected to have this gratification; for in changing my route I necessarily deranged all our plans of communication. I never paid five shillings postage with more pleasure than I did to-day; and all your accounts are satisfactory. . . . . I am heartily tired of this place; but I have engaged a seat in the coach to Gloucester, and shall set out this evening. I packed up my baggage betimes this morning; but I was still lingering in the hope of receiving letters when your epistle came to hand and determined me. From Gloucester I shall proceed on to-morrow morning by the mail to Tenby, without going to Bristol as I had intended, and I hope to reach Tenby on Thursday evening. I have resolved not to go to London, in spite of all your injunctions. The trip would not

be productive either of pleasure or advantage, and it would be attended with expense and inconvenience. I could not take any step with regard to our future residence; and it will be much better that we should go together next spring, when we can look about us at leisure. I have had a very inviting account of Devonshire from an old acquaintance whom I met here, and he has offered either to make inquiries for me about a house, &c., or to give me a bed, that I may be enabled to make them in person. He keeps his carriage and horses, has an excellent house in or near Exeter, goes about, sees his friends, has two or three grown up daughters, and his expenditure does not, he tells me, exceed 1400*l.* per annum. The house which I looked at near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, would suit us very well, and would be a very suitable establishment for us in all respects; but there are many points to be considered before we move with a view to a permanent settlement, and these we can discuss at leisure."

"Tenby, 3rd July, 1817.

". . . . I arrived here two hours ago with a beard as long as a Turk's; but I have now got rid of this ornament, and although I have had rather a hard journey over bad roads, I am perfectly well and stout. I could not write to you *en route;* for between Gloucester and this place—a distance of about 150 miles—we did not halt for twenty minutes at any one time. I neither had dinner, tea, nor supper yesterday, and only tasted two biscuits and three sponge cakes between eight o'clock yesterday and eight o'clock this morning. You will not consider this very good fare for a hungry traveller; but I find it answer better to eat little when I am travelling, and I am just now reaping the benefit of my abstinence. Had I been disposed to dine, I must, under the arrangements of the mail, have taken my dinner at twelve o'clock, and my supper at twelve o'clock following; but I was not at all sorry that these hours did not suit my appetite. I mention these circumstances to show you that I had no time to write to you, *chemin faisant;* and I am a little afraid that you may be disappointed at the long interval which must elapse between your receiving my last and my

present epistle. I was delighted with two letters on my arrival here, and I thank you for them with all my heart.

"The country I have just passed through, and I think the road from Ross to Monmouth, is as beautiful as any part of England or Scotland which I have seen. The river Wye meanders in sight of it a great part of the way; and although the scenery is different, and not perhaps so picturesque as that between Lang Town and Langholm, it is by no means inferior to it. The house I, of course, have not seen. . . . Before we move, there are many points to consider and arrange; and all these we will discuss by-and-by at leisure.

"We have had Scotch weather for the last three days, alternate wind and rain, and a little occasional sunshine. The rain having predominated since my arrival, I have not been abroad, and the only peculiarities which I have yet remarked are, that the cattle are almost universally black; that the women ride on horseback and wear hats like those which are worn by our sex; that the people speak in a sharp tone, with a quick utterance, something after the manner of their relations, the French; that the coal looks like coaldust; and that they put two bullocks and two small horses, and sometimes three small horses, into a cart which would be easily drawn by one indifferent Scotch horse; and, finally, that the country is more '*denuded*' of trees than even Scotland itself—I mean the country within thirty miles of this place; for I repeat that the country near Monmouth is most beautiful."

"Backford, July 10, 1817.

"..... I am once more snug and comfortable with our friends here, after a long and very tiresome journey. I left Tenby on Monday, after breakfast, and posted thence to Coldblow to meet the mail; but, after waiting two hours for it, it arrived quite full of passengers within and without; and I was obliged to post on to Carmarthen in a most sorry equipage. At Carmarthen I was detained again nearly a whole day; and the coach which brought me from thence to Shrewsbury was one of the most wretched conveyances I ever met with. We travelled at the rate of about four miles and a half per hour;

and during a part of the distance I could have walked much faster than the coach. Here I am, however, as fresh and as well as ever, and ready to set out again to dine with Mrs. E. in Chester. . . . . . ."

"Backford, July 14, 1817.

. . . .

"We have just returned from haymaking; but as it was very hot, our labors have not accomplished a great deal. S—— is the most indefatigable of the party, and as for V——, she can do nothing but read 'Cecilia.' . . . . . . We are both very comfortable and happy here; but we shall be quite as well at home. We shall not, however, I fear, get away until Friday morning; and I shall find it rather a difficult affair to get to you on Tuesday. I shall push hard for it."

"Penrith, July 24, 1817.

". . . . We arrived here yesterday quite well, after exploring the Lakes, &c. We have had a very pleasant excursion. . . . . . . I shall not, I fear, have the happiness of seeing you until Wednesday evening at the earliest; for we must pass a few hours at the least with dear Anne. I am very, very impatient, but neither the sun nor post-horses will move much faster in consequence. I pray Heaven that we may have a speedy and a happy meeting. . . . . . ."

The summer of the following year found Mr. Tucker in Ireland. The immediate object of his journey was a visit to an old Indian friend, Mr. Richardson, who had settled himself down in Dundalk. But over and above this sacrifice to friendship, there was in this, as in all his other excursions, a further end to be attained. He who spends all the best years of his life in a distant country, differing in every conceivable point of view from his own, has necessarily much to learn and something to unlearn, on settling down again in the land which he

quitted as a boy. To Mr. Tucker it seemed, as to every intelligent Anglo-Indian in these later days it has seemed, on revisiting the home of his fathers, that cognisant as he was of the manners and institutions of the East, he was necessarily behind his neighbours in practical acquaintance with the people and the usages of the British Isles: and it appeared to him a duty to guard himself against the formation of erroneous opinions, by extending his experiences to all parts of the country, and filling his pitcher at the fountain-head. Time was, if we may believe the traditions of the past century, when the retired Nabob squared all his opinions by the rule and plummet of his Indian experiences—when he transplanted to Bath, to Cheltenham, or to Edinburgh, the manners of the Cutcherry and the morals of the Zenana—when his local knowledge went little beyond the boundaries set forth in the map of Bengal, or "the Coast," and all the institutions with which he had any distinct acquaintance were the Regulations of the Indian Government. But in these days it is subject of common remark—remark always mingled with expressions of astonishment—that men who have passed by far the greater part of their lives in some distant Indian settlement, appear soon after their return from exile to know at least as much of the countries, the people, and the institutions of Europe, as those who have lived all their years in the West. Strange as this may appear at the first glance, the strangeness vanishes after a little reflection. Men who, after years of absence

and years of toil, return to their Western homes, are slow to settle themselves down into the fixture-life which is the characteristic of our home-bred civilisation. They have health to regain; they have leisure to exhaust; and they have money to expend. They are accustomed to frequent migrations. They take little account of distance. They are citizens of the world. The polarity of the fireside is not to them what it is to their brethren of Somerset House and the Exchange. Many a returned Indian in the course of a year or two sees more of Great Britain—more of continental Europe—than all the rest of his family in their aggregate experience during the whole course of their lives. He sees it, too, at a period of his career when he is less likely to form hasty conclusions—when his mind, enlarged by foreign travel, and much intercourse with men, is more capable of forming comparisons and analogies, noting differences and distinctions, and illustrating the observances of one country by a reference to the experiences of another. When Mr. Tucker returned from India, there were scarcely any of those facilities of locomotion which exist in the present day, and he could not visit, in rapid succession, the variety of places at home and abroad to which now his successors are whirled. But to travel more is not necessarily to see more. During the three first years of his sojourn in Europe, he visited many parts of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland; and with that rare aptitude for acquiring information which had enabled him when yet a boy, in

Bengal and Behar, to discourse knowingly on systems of Indian revenue, he gathered up rich experiences, to be turned to profitable account in the game of statesmanship which he was yet destined to play.

But I am writing, in this chapter, of Mr. Tucker in his private relations, and desire to illustrate only the domestic side of his character. The passages which I am culling from his correspondence are gathered from letters addressed to the companion of his life, and were intended only to gladden the home from which he was never absent in spirit. It is time now that I should resume my quotations:

"Leinster Hotel, Dublin, May 14th, 1818.

" . . . . We arrived here last night at eleven o'clock, after a passage of thirteen hours, which is considered sufficiently favorable. . . . . I fear that you will have expected to hear from me sooner, and that you may have been a little disappointed in not getting a letter from me; but after getting into the mail at Llangollen, I had not one single moment which I could command. From Llangollen I did not think it necessary to write, as I had only just left you, and I had not seen anything which I thought worthy of a description.

"Do not expect to hear from me regularly, for I find that the packet is sometimes two days, or longer, in getting across; and while I am travelling, it is not possible to write. I am at this moment writing in a public coffee-room, with people all around me talking Irish in the purest style; and this confuses me a little, since I cannot choose but hear them. You must not be surprised, indeed, if I should give you a little of the *brogue*.

" On Saturday we set off for Dundalk, where I propose to remain until Tuesday or Wednesday, and on Friday or Saturday we shall, I trust, embark again for England. This, how-

ever, must depend upon wind and weather; for if the wind be adverse, or (what is worse) if there be a calm, there is no use in commencing the voyage. Calms are to be expected at this season; and we may therefore be a couple of days in crossing the water. Do not, then, expect us before Tuesday, nor indeed on any particular day or hour; for it is impossible to make arrangements which must depend on winds and weather. . . . . . I can give you no description of Dublin, for I have not yet seen it; and the fine bay, which is its greatest ornament, we saw almost in the dark. You shall, however, have a full account of our travels on our return."

"Dundalk, May 15th, 1818.

" . . . . We arrived here at two o'clock to-day, after a pleasant journey. We came through a country not at all remarkable for beauty; and as for this good town, it is one of the dirtiest holes I ever saw. You have nothing in Scotland half so dirty or disgusting. The utmost degree of wretchedness seems to prevail throughout the country; and except during the famines in India, I have never anywhere met with such a ragged, squalid, miserable race of beings. Half the population is half naked, or in filthy rags; and the number of beggars is so great as to be a serious nuisance. In short, things are much worse here than in Scotland; and, go where I will, I come always to this conclusion, that everything is best at home. I am really sorry to see R. fixed even for a short time in such a wretched town. The house is large and commodious, and they have a very pretty garden; but nothing could reconcile me to such a neighbourhood.

"Upon the whole, I have seen nothing yet to delight me; but I have seen a new country, which is always an object of interest, and I am not sorry that I made the trip. I have been most amused with the language and remarks of the lower orders of the people. There is something so original and so ludicrous in their manner and expressions, that I listen to them with a great degree of interest; and I am induced to laugh at them, or with them, as I should do at good comic acting. We shall stay here probably until Tuesday; and after rambling about

Dublin and its neighbourhood until Friday or Saturday, I hope to embark again for dear England. We cannot, however, be with you before Monday at the soonest."

"Dundalk, May 17th, 1818.

" . . . . We have just come in from church, where we had very good service; and the day being extremely fine, and the people being all in their best attire, things wear rather a more cheerful appearance. But, at best, this is one of the most dirty, disagreeable places I have ever been in. We yesterday took a ride out on horseback, a distance of five or six miles from the town; but although this is considered the best ride in the neighbourhood, there is scarcely any part of Scotland which I should not think more civilised and more inviting in its appearance. The people seem either habitually lazy, or altogether disheartened by their poverty and misery. In each field you see some three or four ragged laborers (sometimes the fair sex are of the party), who stand leaning on their spades, as if totally indifferent to the work they have in hand. The ground being scarcely turned up by the plough, they are obliged to break it up as well as they can with the spade; and then they send a light harrow tripping over it, for no one purpose whatever which I could discover, since if they brushed the ground with an ostrich feather they would make quite as much impression upon it. The lower Irish are the most careless, thoughtless beings which it is possible to conceive. Yesterday we met in our ride two strapping fellows upon a miserable lean horse, with two large sacks of bran dangling one on either side, the mouths being downwards. Well, by way of showing off, as they passed us, the poor animal was goaded into a rumbling trot, the mouth of one of the sacks opened, and the bran went flying about until the road was strewed with it. These fellows went jogging on, notwithstanding, as if perfectly unconscious of what was going forward; but at length one of them, appearing to awake, he set about dismounting. Instead, however, of getting off on the side of the empty bag, which I should have conceived the more easy and obvious proceeding, he threw himself back the other way; and his weight being thus thrown

into the heavier scale, the whole party came to the ground. Everything seems to be matter of indifference to them. The boys amuse themselves in jumping from the walls of the cottages into the filthy dunghills below; and this seems to delight them as much as if they were plunging into beds of roses. The streets and roads are crowded with children and young lads in tatters, playing at hop-step-and-jump, and apparently well pleased to do anything but work. The best estate in the county would not tempt me to live in it; and I am no longer surprised that there should be so many absentees.

"We shall set out on our return to Dublin on Tuesday, and on Friday evening I hope to embark again for England, with purpose never to revisit this sweet little island of Erin. I am glad that I have seen it; but I shall be glad not to see it again."

"Dundalk, May 18th, 1818.

" . . . . Yesterday we had crowds of visitors here, all pure, unadulterated Irish. One lady asked me very gravely 'If India were not much nearer now to this country than it was some years ago?' This was rather a puzzler; but I got off as well as I could without offence to her, or to the laws of nature. To-day we have a fair in the town; but as the county has been proclaimed, and is under military law, the people are obliged to be very circumspect, and we shall not probably have any of the usual fun of broken heads, or the like. We are going, however, to sally out on horseback, to see what is to be seen. Such was the state of this neighbourhood during last year, that they were obliged to enforce what is called the Insurrection Act; and no person can stir out of his house after the curfew, without being liable to be taken up as a vagrant, and sentenced to transportation. What a country to live in!

"P.S.—Dublin.—We arrived here, all well, yesterday evening, after having had a genuine specimen of Irish posting. The horses were so lame, and the equipage altogether so wretched, that we were ashamed to show ourselves in it to the citizens of Dublin; and so we got out, and walked the last mile. Indeed, we thought that the horses could drag us no further. The

weather was, however, delightful, and we perambulated the city afterwards, until past nine o'clock."

On his return from Ireland, Mr. Tucker, accompanied by his wife, paid a brief visit to London. In the course of the following September he escorted Mrs. Tucker's sister and a party of young friends on an excursion to the Scotch lakes—a work of kindness rather than of inclination, for he was familiar with the ground which they traversed, and the incessant sight-seeing was wearisome to him. He was longing all the time to be again in Charlotte-square. "It is all very well," he wrote, "to view objects of curiosity; but my real delight will be in reviewing my own dear home."

Towards the close of the following year (1819), Mr. Tucker was called by business to London, where he took up his residence in the Haymarket, which was then something more than a name. "You may be curious to receive some account of my present abode," he wrote. "It is directly opposite to the Opera House, within a few doors of the little theatre; and I have, therefore, music and dancing quite within reach. I have also a fine prospect of hay from my windows." He had much business to do, and many visits to pay on his own account; but he yet could make time to advance the interests of others; and much of his private correspondence relates to his toilsome, but in the end successful efforts to obtain appointments for some young relatives and connexions, who had very little claim upon him.

He entered but sparingly into the amusements of the town. "R. and I," he said, still writing to Charlotte-square, "dined together at a coffee-house yesterday, and went afterwards to the House of Commons, where we heard a very interesting debate. We were fortunate in procuring excellent seats, and remained in the House till near three o'clock in the morning. This is the greatest raking I have been guilty of for many a day. The evening before I dined alone at a vile coffee-house, recommended to me by Colonel C——, that I might go and see Drury Lane Theatre. Kean performed, what I think his best character, *Sir Giles Overreach;* and as I was in the Pit, I saw and heard to great advantage.* I have only now to attend the House of Lords, and then I shall have satisfied all my curiosity in this way."

He visited also the India House and the Board of Control, and the subject of an appointment in the Examiner's Office at the former, again came before him for consideration. "I passed four or five hours," he wrote, "yesterday at the Board of Control and the India House, and was most cordially received by all my acquaintance, who seem to regret that I have not been placed amongst them. It was, I believe, in contemplation, when the last arrangement took place—but they concluded that I would not accept a situation on the footing on which they

* In a letter written about this time, Mr. Tucker says, "I am getting one of my *Comedies* transcribed; and if it should be finished in time I shall submit it to one of the managers." Whether he did so or not, does not appear.

would have been disposed to place me. Mr. M'Culloch, I hear, behaved extremely well. He assured the Chairman that he did not wish to stand in the way of any arrangement which it might be found convenient to make; and that he should be quite content to remain under any person who might be selected for the head of the office. But," added Mr. Tucker, communicating this to his wife, "*we* are both quite content, my own dear Jane, to remain comfortably in Charlotte-square, instead of encountering the noise and smoke of this overgrown metropolis." He saw, at that time, little to induce him again to wear the harness of official life.

His business in London accomplished, Mr. Tucker hastened back to the northern metropolis. Reports of disturbances in Scotland caused him to accelerate his homeward movements. There seemed to be a prospect of exciting times, and except the thought of giving assurance by his presence at home to his own family, nothing pressed upon his mind more eagerly than the desire to testify his loyalty by joining any volunteer force that might be raised for the protection of the country. "Beg Boswell, or Alexander," he wrote, "to insert my name immediately as a member of the volunteer cavalry; and request A—— to look out for a light active horse for me. He had better consult my friend Richardson about him, as he is an old cavalry officer, an excellent judge of horses, and he knows the kind of animal which would suit me." But the disturbances were soon at an end; and Mr. Tucker was not called upon

to exhibit himself, in the West, as he had done in the East, as a Light-Horse Volunteer.

But he was about soon to gird himself up for another contest. This is the only chapter of Mr. Tucker's adult life which is purely one of private history. I have expanded it the rather on this account, and dwelt upon circumstances of little importance except as illustrations of private character, because such a chapter affords a sort of halting-ground, where the reader may rest before passing from the record of Mr. Tucker's career in the East to the narrative of his public life in the West. It is not to be doubted, that during this period of repose he was very happy. In the wife of his bosom he had a true help-meet and a charming companion. And his children were growing up at his knees, visions of delight filling him with joy. But man, who knows himself but little, knows himself in nothing so little, as when he estimates his power, in the prime of life and the vigor of intellect, to retire into privacy and to subside into inaction, without a regret or a desire to ruffle the surface of his domestic peace. If it be an infirmity for a man at the age of forty-eight to think that his work is not done, and to desire to take part in public affairs, such is the "infirmity of noble minds," and I envy not the man without it. Henry St.George Tucker thought for a time that he was "*quite* content" with Charlotte-square, with his loving wife, and his dear children. And in one sense he *was* content. Happy is the man, who feels in his inmost heart

that public success is not a necessity of his life—that if entrance into the great world of Politics be denied to him, he has still abundant store of comfort left him in the solid realities of domestic bliss. But the excitement of public life, rightly considered and legitimately encouraged, is not antagonistic, but ancillary, to domestic happiness. As with the body, so with the mind, the proper exercise and just development of each part is essential to the health and perfection of the rest. Men are not worse, but better husbands and fathers, for taking part in the external realities of public life. It has been said, by the greatest of English prose-writers, that the pleasures of the intellect are greater than the pleasures of the affections—as though they were antagonistic properties. But it is only in combination that either is perfect. No man really knows the delights of home—no man can justly appreciate its blessings—who has not another life, another history, than that of the fireside.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Tucker's Departure from Scotland—"Starting for the Direction"—Constitution of the Court of Directors—The Canvass—Candidates and Voters—The "City Interest"—The "West-India Interest"—Mr. Tucker's Defeat—Renewal of the Canvass—His Election—Incidents of Private Life.

When, therefore, Henry St.George Tucker formed the resolution of leaving Edinburgh, and again entering into public life, all that his Biographer can say of the matter is, that he did wisely. In the course of the year 1820, he removed his family to England; and hired a residence in that part of the country where Middlesex and Hertfordshire join, in the neighbourhood of Barnet. And then, early in the following year, he began "to canvass for the Direction." In other words, he bethought himself of again entering public life, as a Director of the East India Company.

It was a legitimate and a worthy object of ambition that he had now set before him. He aspired to be nothing less than the twenty-fourth part of a King—of one of the greatest sovereigns in the world. If all kings were as competent to govern the empires entrusted to them, they would have no

need of bad ministers. Mr. Tucker felt that he had within him the knowledge and experience—the earnestness and zeal—necessary to the character of one who aspires to take an active part in the management of such a country. He did not merely want employment. He did not want position. He did not want patronage. He wanted to be useful. He wanted to do good.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company at that time consisted of twenty-four effective members; and six on a non-effective list, formed by the yearly rustication of that number of the fraternity, all going out in succession. These thirty Directors were elected by the Proprietors of East India Stock—no other qualification being necessary than the possession of a certain amount of the prescribed securities.* It happened, therefore, that a considerable number of these Directors were chosen not from among men who had passed many years in India and had garnered up rich stores of Indian information, but from among Merchants and Bankers, and men connected with the Shipping interests, who had but slender acquaintance with the history, the geography, the institutions, and the usages of the East. Nor was it altogether unfitting that such general elements should enter into the constitution of the Court. The East India Company was at that time a "Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies;" and, although when Mr. Tucker canvassed the Pro-

* I write in the past tense, because, doubtless, there will be some readers of this volume into whose hands it will not pass before all this is tradition.

prietors, the monopoly of the India trade had been abolished, the China monopoly still existed, and the management of this trade formed an important part of the duties of the Leadenhall-street Council.

It may be doubted whether even in those days the "City-interest" was not too powerful for the interests of India. But it is not to be doubted that many men, who have had no Indian antecedents, or whose connexion with India has been of the slenderest and most uninstructive kind, have risen into very useful and very influential Directors, whose merits their more experienced brethren have delighted to acknowledge. It is not because such men were often elected, that I speak of the undue power of the City-interest; but because in effect a few great Houses monopolised so large a number of votes, that the real constituency was greatly narrowed, and it became not so much a matter of primal concernment for the candidate to canvass the general body of Proprietors as to canvass these great Houses. And it need not be said that it was not the individual fitness of the candidate—his ability, his experience, his zeal, and his integrity—which these Leviathan Houses were wont in the first instance to regard. This Mr. Tucker knew and deplored. He would have amended it, if he could; but as he could not, he had no sooner formed his intention to "stand for the Direction," than he took counsel with some leading members of certain great City Houses, and invited their support.

In the following letter written to one of these great

vote-holders—a merchant whom he had known well in India—it may be seen how the course which he purposed to adopt was then taking shape in his mind:

"TO JAMES A——, ESQ.

"Friern Lodge, Whetstone, 22nd January, 1821.

"DEAR A——,—I came into the country, like certain pugilists, for the benefit of a summer's training; but I hear that the Ring is likely to be formed much sooner than I could have anticipated. From Cox and other friends I have heard lately that there is a probability of no less than three vacancies in April, by the resignation of two of the Directors; and if this information be correct, it may be as well for me to consider whether I ought not to offer myself for one of them. Not that I am at all impatient to stand. On the contrary, Mr. Forbes' advice to me 'not to be precipitate' was unquestionably good, and I feel much disposed to follow it. I feel, moreover, great reluctance to stand against Welland; for although I do not myself believe that I should prejudice his interests, he and his friends will, perhaps, think differently.

"On the other hand, by standing in April, I may derive some benefit from the attendance of some of the distant voters, who are not likely to be in London at any other season; and there are some on the spot who would give me their second or third votes, although I could not expect from them their first votes in a single contest.

"Now, I do not wish to be importunate or troublesome to you; but if you have had an opportunity of consulting your friends, and if they are prepared to come to a determination, it would be of great importance to me to know whether you and they are disposed to support me with your second or third votes, in the event of three vacancies occurring. If you should be so disposed, and if I should be advised to stand, it is evident that I have not a moment to lose; for I have my testimonials to collect and arrange, and I have to undertake a personal canvass, which I can scarcely be said to have yet commenced.

I have received most flattering encouragement from many individuals, and abundance of very gratifying compliments, which, after due abatement, incline me to think (or at least to hope) that I shall have a fair share of the benefit of public opinion in my favor; but I have neither commenced a regular canvass, nor had I any idea of commencing one, before the General Election, until I heard of the expected vacancies.

"Again, I repeat, that I am not in a hurry to stand myself, nor would I wish to hurry you; but if your decision be formed, the communication of it would relieve me from a little dilemma, or awkwardness; for while a doubt exists with regard to it, I feel that I cannot in delicacy ask advice from Shore and others who act with you, and whose advice would be to me of the utmost importance. In any case, you will do me the justice to believe that I am not so unreasonable as to harbour anything like a feeling of dissatisfaction, if you were to tell me at once that you could not support me. I am perfectly satisfied of your good wishes; and I am well aware that, in so extensive and complicated a connexion, it may be necessary to consult the views and interests of so many, as to render it difficult, and perhaps impracticable, for you to give effect to those wishes. In truth, too, it would not seriously distress me if I were to stop short to-morrow; for I have not placed my happiness in the East India House, and I have received testimonies of regard and of approbation of my public conduct, more than sufficient to recompense me for the little trouble I have hitherto taken. A seat in the Direction is a legitimate object of ambition. I like active employment, and I prefer, from habit, those public duties and occupations to which I have been so long accustomed; but I shall not be unhappy if I am not allowed to become a public drudge. Even the patronage is not a principal object with me, although it would, no doubt, be the source of very great gratification; for my friends in the Direction have hitherto supplied my wants.

"In short, this is a long letter, which it is time to conclude; and I shall conclude by repeating that, although I am far from being indifferent to the object which I have proposed to myself, I am by no means impatient to prosecute it; and that, if you

and Mr. Forbes, and your friends, would only interest yourselves so far as to say 'halt,' or 'move forward,' I should cheerfully and thankfully obey the word of command.

"Believe me, very sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

Though the plan here spoken of was abandoned, he now began to prosecute his canvass in earnest. A long and a wearisome business was this "canvassing for the Direction." The canvassing of constituencies is never pleasant. A man with a vote in his pocket rides the suffrage like a high horse. He is as extortionate as a Chief Inquisitor, and as presumptuous as the Grand Turk. He thinks himself privileged to ask anything, to exact anything, to dictate anything; and to give in return grudging assents, half promises, or impertinent denials. But the torture to which the candidate is subjected is generally brief. The circle of suffering is bounded by a few weeks. The canvass is not commenced till the opening has presented itself and the day of election is near at hand. Canvassing for the East India Direction was, however, a work of years. It looked far into the future. It addressed itself to remote contingencies. It contemplated events not *in esse*, but *in posse*. It anticipated the will of Providence, and hungered after empty places before the hour was ripe. It took its stand upon the doctrine of probabilities, and calculated rates of mortality. It assumed that the ranks of a corps, composed chiefly of men who had long passed their prime, must be periodically thinned, and that in no single

year of the century was a vacancy far off. A man, therefore, declared himself a candidate for the Direction whenever he had a mind to put forth an address to the Proprietors of India Stock. The earlier he appeared in the field, the earlier in all probability would he be returned. So the candidate prepared himself for the contest—put himself into training, waited patiently, and worked strenuously till the day of battle had come.

The operation was a tedious one. Of this patient waiting and this strenuous working it demanded, indeed, long years. When a man first declared himself a candidate for the Direction, he knew that others, who had declared themselves before, must be elected before him. It was not the first vacancy —or the second—or, perhaps, even the third, that he believed himself destined to fill. A vacancy occurred, and he did not even attempt to hoist himself into the place. Another, and he still looked on. A third; and he went, perhaps diffidently or carelessly, to the Poll, with scarcely a hope of success. A fourth, and there was a sharp contest—he was beaten by a few votes. A fifth, and he was triumphantly returned. He might be beaten twice, or he might be beaten only once; but few entered the Court without sustaining at least one defeat. Defeat, indeed, was almost a condition of election. I believe that there is but one Director, at this time, who secured his seat without years of canvass.

That in this state of things there were inherent

evils is not to be doubted. A resolute candidate, whatever might be his claims, sometimes gained his point by dint of shere perseverance and importunity. A vote would often be promised to a man for two or three elections in advance, simply for the purpose of getting rid of a troublesome candidate, or, in very gentleness of heart, to smooth the asperity of a present refusal. So that when candidates of high rank presented themselves, they found the Proprietors already prospectively pledged, and were necessitated to endure the ordeal of initiatory failure or to withdraw altogether from the lists. So it happened that men of distinguished reputation, unwilling to be defeated by their inferiors, shrunk altogether from the contest. And it was said that the necessities of the canvass and the chances of the competition filled the Court with second-rate men.

But this was only partly true. It has been asserted, on the other hand, that such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, needed only to declare themselves as Candidates for the Direction to secure an immediate recognition of their claims. And I have the utmost faith in the assertion. I believe that there were few candidates who would not have voluntarily given place to such men, and temporarily released their supporters from the pledges that they had ignorantly given. I believe that the claims of such pre-eminent merit would never have been denied. But it must be admitted that many men, distinguished though in a lesser degree, shrunk from the contest upon no insufficient grounds; and that

others who had braved it, were defeated by their inferiors in ability and reputation. There was some leaven of real evil in this—but there was much, too, that lay only on the surface. It was found in effect that the men of the highest Indian reputations did not always make the best Directors. Great names are often great delusions. Men entered the Court with great reputations; and were found to be indolent, or prejudiced, or crotchety, or self-sufficient, and rather obstructed than aided the working of the machinery of Government. Sometimes they looked upon a seat in the India House as an easy-chair, in which they might lounge away the rest of their lives, reposing under the laurels which they had earned in India. On the other hand, men, who had a reputation to make, made it; and were the more eager to prove their fitness for office since they knew that it had been questioned. I do not mean to say that this was the rule, or that, if it had been, it would have proved the excellence of the system. I only mean that the most distinguished men did not necessarily make the best Directors, and that system had some advantages if it had many defects.

Of the general results of the system—of the working of the Government so constituted, I shall, perhaps, have occasion to speak more fully in another chapter. To this only belongs the subject of election with the process of preliminary canvassing, which was a work demanding no common amount of energy and perseverance. It demanded, too, something more than this; it demanded leisure, and it de-

manded money. The constituency was scattered all over the British Islands. There was no place, from the Land's End to John O'Groat's, in which a Proprietor of India Stock, with one or more stars to his name, might not be located. An active canvasser seldom relied on the effect of epistolary solicitation. He generally, either in his own person, or through the agency of a zealous friend, beat up the quarters of the voter. It would be curious to estimate the number of miles travelled by a candidate for the Direction in the course of his canvass. The expenditure of money, too, was not inconsiderable. A man desiderating a seat in Parliament goes down to a borough and spends, perhaps, a few thousand pounds in the course of a few days. The trouble and anxiety are intense whilst they last; but they are soon at an end. But the candidate for the Direction spent his money slowly, and his sufferings were spread over a space of several years. The dispersion of the constituency, too, was a great evil to the candidate. Men located in remote parts of the country had their public virtue or their private friendship severely tested by a request to come up to London, in days when travelling was both costly and expensive, to vote for an Indian Director. The reluctance of the indolent, and the scruples of the parsimonious, were alike to be overcome. Then there was often the inopportune intervention of a fit of gout, or an attack of lumbago, to keep the voter to his own room at the very time when he was re-

quired to put himself into the Mail, and be jolted to the Poll at the India House. All sorts of disappointments and vexations would arise in the course of a canvass of such long duration. The delay, too, tried the truth and consistency of voters to an extent sometimes beyond their powers of resistance. I am afraid it sometimes happened that men promised their support to one candidate, and voted for another.

One of the first things that a candidate did, after declaring his intention to stand for the Direction, was to form a Committee of influential friends, and to hire a Committee-room at some first-rate tavern in the City. These Committees consisted of a certain number of good names; and two or three working members, who kept annotated lists of the Court of Proprietors, and studied all methods, direct and indirect, of approaching uncertain voters. There was "treating," too, doubtless on a liberal scale, but not after the fashion of a borough election. A candidate for the Direction did not keep open house during the years of his canvass, but he recognised the necessity of entertaining his friends; and balls and dinner-parties constituted at least a portion of the legitimate allurements which were employed. This was, generally, the full extent of the bribery and corruption. The canvass, indeed, was altogether more toilsome than humiliating; and it may be questioned whether, as a rule, any other elections are conducted with so little resort to

unworthy and illegal means of accomplishing a desired end.*

There were exceptions to this, as to other rules, and I shall come presently to speak of some of them. In the mean while, let it be said that Mr. Tucker set about this work of canvassing, as about every other work which he undertook, with characteristic energy and activity. He had not long formed the resolution of starting for the Direction, before he set out for Bath, Clifton, Cheltenham, and other places where Proprietors of India Stock congregate, to declare his intentions, and to solicit support. From Bath, about the middle of February, he wrote to his beloved wife, who was entirely in all his councils, and who entered with the liveliest sympathy and warmest affection into all his views: "I have been running about a great deal this morning, paying visits to Indian friends as well as to voters; but I found very few of either description at home, and I do not promise myself great success as far as electioneering objects are in question. I saw Sir Robert Blair, Sir F. Dallas, General Cameron, and Colonel Shaw, who are all Proprietors; and I left cards for many others; but they are all pretty well engaged, and I cannot expect many of them to travel above 200 miles, merely to gratify one who is

* Of course, a constituency so composed is not to be bribed with pots of beer, or even with five-pound notes. But it has been alleged that the patronage of the Directors has been forestalled for electioneering purposes—that Proprietors have been bribed by promises of writerships and cadetships. If this charge be intended to have general application, it is singularly untrue. If such has been done, the case is an exceptional one. The rule is altogether the reverse.

a stranger to them." From Clifton, he wrote a few days afterwards, "I have been canvassing here with better success than I had expected; and I have found here as elsewhere friends who are disposed to exert themselves strenuously in my favor." From Cheltenham he wrote, on the 2nd of March, "To-day I shall pay my electioneering visits at this place;" and two days afterwards, having proceeded to Malvern, he added: "I was most civilly received by the Cheltenham voters." Everybody acknowledged his fitness for the office, even when foregone promises and pledges stood in the way of a tender of individual support.

It was, indeed, solely on the strength of his personal fitness and his public claims to the support of the Proprietary body, that he prosecuted his canvass. He had little private influence at this time; and some powerful interests were arrayed against him. Even the influential City men—and there were some who furthered his views—did so, solely upon public grounds. Foremost amongst these was Sir Thomas Baring, who steadily, consistently, and unwearyingly supported Mr. Tucker. "If you succeed in obtaining a seat in the Direction," he wrote, "which I trust and feel persuaded you will do, upon the first vacancy that may occur, you will owe your success more to your own merits, than to any assistance that I may be able to give you, although that assistance may not, and I hope will not, be inconsiderable."

But it was not the "first vacancy" that he was

destined to fill. Others had been in the field before him. When he first announced his intention of coming forward, he had intended to go to the Poll on the occurrence of the second vacancy. "My present intention," he then said, "is to stand for the second vacancy (Mr. Mills being supposed to occupy the first), and to go on to a *second* trial of strength should I not succeed in the first experiment; and should this experiment satisfy me that I have a fair share of public opinion in my favor. A second defeat will infallibly lay me up in ordinary for the rest of my life, as I have no wish to trouble my friends and myself to no purpose. I should myself be disposed to refrain from giving any pledge or intimation with respect to the time of my coming forward; but the question has been repeatedly asked me since the last election, and my answer hitherto has been generally that I do not mean to stand against Mr. Mills; but that I shall probably come forward on the *second* vacancy." Circumstances, however, induced him to swerve from this resolution.

Colonel Baillie, an officer much distinguished as a soldier and a diplomatist, had declared himself before him; and his prospects of success were so good, that Mr. Tucker determined not to oppose him. "Baillie has been much longer in the field," he wrote, in 1821, "and is, probably, much better prepared for a contest than I can pretend to be. His military character is also of use to him just now." And again, in the following year (August, 1822), he

wrote to a friend: "As there seems now to be a fair prospect that Colonel Baillie will succeed to the next vacancy in the Direction, may I solicit the favor of your powerful support when he shall have accomplished this object?"

It was subsequently to this that Sir Thomas Baring expressed his confidence that Mr. Tucker would succeed to the next vacancy; but other candidates were then pushing forward. Mr. Mills was elected in 1822; Colonel Baillie in 1823; and Mr. Masterman in the same year. The contest, which Mr. Tucker subsequently stood, was with Mr. Muspratt.

Among other candidates, too, who presented themselves at this time, were some of Mr. Tucker's oldest friends—but the competition, if so it can be called, was marked upon all sides by a delicacy and generosity which it is a pleasure to illustrate. Mr. Trant, who owed much to Mr. Tucker, hesitated to push forward his claims, until the success of his friend had been secured; but the latter, unwilling to impede his advance, wrote to him in September, 1822:

"Now, while I thought that I could only put you back a couple of vacancies after Baillie, I felt no repugnance at taking the lead, since I flattered myself that the arrangement might in the end conduce to the convenience and promote the success of all parties; but, foreseeing as I do, that I may myself be put back for an indefinite period, it would neither be fair to you, nor satisfactory to myself, that I should become the means of putting you back for an indefinite, and, perhaps, an extended, period. It is my wish, then, and I make it my request, that you prosecute your canvass, and proceed otherwise,

in the way which may appear to you best calculated to promote the attainment of your object *without reference or regard to me.*

"Were I differently situated, I might determine at once to take the bull by the horns; but circumstanced as I am, with great numbers depending upon me, this is a step which I could not very well justify to myself, while any fair alternative remained. I must, therefore, resort to sober reflection, in the first instance, and endeavor to avail myself of any favorable chances which may occur. Should none such occur, I must, before I quit the field, make trial of my fortune; although, as matters stand at present, I see no reason whatever to expect success. You are a younger man; and by persevering will ultimately, I trust, prevail."

About the same time, another old friend, Mr. James Stuart, eager, on his own account, to secure a seat in the Direction, but equally reluctant to oppose any obstacle to Mr. Tucker's success, thus addressed him on the subject:

"I was happy to find that you think you have so good a chance for the Direction, equally on your own account and that of the Public. It would be idle on my part to offer you my services, for I do not possess any means of being useful. Friends have begun to suggest the same object to me; and if I thought I should succeed without a troublesome and expensive canvass, I should be inclined to try. I might, perhaps, be assisted by some of the Court, and be countenanced by the Government. I should feel a strong repugnance to interfering with your prospects; but I trust that you are too well forward on the course to admit of your being embarrassed by a candidate who cannot at earliest be brought in these two years to come. I fear that the good people in the City begin to be jealous of the number of Indians who have succeeded to the Direction."

To this Mr. Tucker replied:

"You cannot possibly, I think, interfere with me by offering

yourself as a candidate for the Direction, because I shall probably be disposed of in some way or other, before you can come upon the ground ; but at all events, whether it be possible or not, I would wish you to regulate your movements without the slightest regard to such a contingency. Act precisely as if I were not a candidate, and pursue your own plans without taking me into the account in any way whatever. You have better counsellors than I could pretend to be; and I would not take upon myself on any account the responsibility of advising you either to stand or not to stand. I would not do the one, because I might involve you in inconceivable trouble; I would not do the other, because I would not willingly be the means of depriving the public of your services, or of discouraging you from seeking that which, if found, is a desirable acquisition to most men in our situation. I shall only, then, observe, simply and briefly, that there appears now to be only two ways of getting into the Direction ; the one, by the force of such a transcendent public character as shall impose upon the Court of Directors a sort of moral obligation to support the candidate; the other, by means of extensive and powerful commercial connexions. To attempt to get in by collecting individual votes, is to gather water in a sieve ; but it is better to say no more on the subject, both because I should be sorry to discourage you, and because it is impossible to convey any adequate idea of the circumstances attending a canvass at the present period."

And both Mr. Stuart and Mr. Tucker were right, when they said that the City Interest was too adverse to the influx of old Indians into the Direction; and that the best efforts to accumulate single votes would seldom bring a Candidate to the goal of success. Mr. Tucker had much prejudice and much misrepresentation to combat. Identical with a section, and a powerful one, of the City Interest was what was known as the West-India Interest. It

was given out that Mr. Tucker was hostile to these interests; so all the West-Indians were arrayed against him. The statement was no further true than that he was one, who, seeing clearly the immense advantages to be conferred on the people of India by the due development of the resources of the country, was eager to stimulate production of every kind, and adverse to all fiscal regulations that had the effect of excluding Indian produce from the markets of Great Britain. It is true that he desired to bring East-Indian sugar — the growth of the labor of free men — fairly into competition with the slave-grown staple of the West-Indian Isles. But surely it was a strange charge to bring against a man, that he desired to advance the interests of the country he aspired to govern.

But strange as such an objection might be, considering all the specialities of the case—for Mr. Tucker, in encouraging the production of East-Indian sugar, had regarded no less the financial interests of the Company than the welfare of the people of India —it was a very operative one. Men, who had promised to assist him, forsook their allegiance, when it was said that he was adverse to the exclusive interests of the West-Indian proprietors—and others, who had not promised, refused, with contumely, to support him. One Proprietor told him that he would not only vote against him, but that he would exert himself to the utmost to keep such a man out of the Direction. "I replied," said Mr. Tucker, who used to tell the story with a benignant smile,

"that I thought this was rather hard, as he had never received any injury at my hands, but that he had, of course, a right to dispose of his votes as he pleased;" "and," added the narrator, "he voted for me after all." It happened in this way. Some time afterwards Mr. Tucker met the same gentleman in a public vehicle. They entered into conversation; and presently the voter said, "Sir, is not Sir Alured Clarke a great friend of yours?" To this Mr. Tucker replied that he had the honor of Sir Alured's acquaintance. "Then," said the voter, "tell Sir Alured to ask me for my votes. He has been very kind to a friend of mine in India; and if he asks for my votes he shall have them for you, I promise." He had found out by this time that Mr. Tucker was not an enemy to any "interests" except when they arrogated to themselves an exclusiveness injurious to the interests of humanity.*

There were other questions, too, with respect to which Mr. Tucker encountered some difficulty in the course of his canvass, and had some prejudice to overcome. The extent to which anything like interference with the religious usages and ceremonies of the people of India might with safety be permitted

* The following note [without date] from Colonel Mark Wilks, the accomplished historian of Southern India, shows how much stress was laid upon this question:

"Here are, my good friend, a tolerable large squad of votes depending upon a question which Sir T—— B—— could not answer, and which I do not like to answer positively without reference, viz., Is Mr. Tucker, or is he not, inimical to the West India interests? What shall I say?

"Ever yours,

"MARK WILKS.

"'Is Mr. Tucker a Methodist?' To that I have answered, 'No.'

"M. W."

by the British-Indian Government, had long been a vexed question, upon either side of which might be seen arrayed men of eminent piety and wisdom. But there were pretenders to both, who conceived themselves qualified to dogmatise and to dictate, and were angry when others were disposed to make the question one between themselves and their conscience, and to act, according to the light that was in them, and in all humility of spirit. There were some voters, indeed, who thought themselves privileged to catechise candidates on points of faith, and to call for pledges in respect of the most sacred and most delicate points of procedure. It was Mr. Tucker's wont to refuse to make any pledges. He was determined to enter the Court free and unfettered, or not at all. His language upon this head was clear and emphatic. Here is a sample of the manner of his replies:

"TO —— ——, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,—There is no person, I believe, more anxious than myself to obtain and deserve the good-will of all good men; but in public life I have prescribed to myself certain rules of conduct, from which I hope never to deviate, and from which, I should hope, you would scarcely wish me to deviate. You will hold in mind that I am not before the public just now for the first time.

"I should have been much gratified by receiving your support, if you could have given it with satisfaction to your own mind; but as I claim the right to judge and act for myself, I freely allow the same right to others, and I neither ask, nor wish for your vote, if it cannot be given me without placing a constraint upon your own conscience.

"I have perused with attention the publication which you

were so good as to send me, and I thank you for it. The subject is not new to my mind, and I give you credit for the earnest zeal with which you enforce your opinions on a most important question; but it is not incumbent upon me to subscribe to those opinions, or to the opinions of your opponent, or to any abstract propositions whatever. As a public functionary (if I should ever be such), the plain and simple course of my duty is to keep my mind perfectly free and unfettered, that I may act in every case which comes before me according to the best of my judgment and to the dictates of my conscience. Upon this principle I always have acted, and upon this principle it is my intention to act for the time to come, if I should again be called into public life.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"3, Upper Portland-place, 1st December, 1823."

This letter is of general application; but a more specific declaration of his views, with respect to what was called the "Missionary question," was at a little later period (in the course of 1824) called forth by a circumstance which he has himself recorded. He considered it advisable, indeed, to draw up a paper on the subject, that no misunderstanding might be perpetuated. The anecdote to which I refer is here narrated. Thus Mr. Tucker wrote:

"I am of opinion that the Government should never identify itself with the Missionary and other societies which have been instituted for the propagation of the Christian religion in the East. In the minds of the people of India, Government is habitually associated with the idea of power, or force; and I am persuaded that the slightest demonstration of an intention to use force for the conversion of this people would alarm their fears in a degree to produce immediate and serious danger. Our Government is established in the spirit of toleration; and a sort of tacit compact, or understanding, exists that we shall

not interfere with the religion of our native subjects. Our Government stands in the situation of a powerful umpire, whose duty it is to afford equal protection to all, and to maintain in the free exercise of all civil rights (and among these, liberty of conscience), its subjects, of whatever description, with strict impartiality. I consider, then, that the Government could not take part in the proceedings of the Missionary Societies with the slightest prospect of advancing the interests of religion, nor without departing from those principles, upon a strict adherence to which its own existence essentially depends.

"This opinion I have not hesitated to offer with freedom and candor, whenever I have been questioned on the subject in the liberal spirit of inquiry. But, when called upon to give a pledge that I would support particular doctrines, or co-operate to promote particular ends or objects, I have invariably stated that I would never pledge myself to any abstract proposition whatever: that I considered it to be the duty of every individual, entering upon a public trust, to keep his mind free and unshackled, in order that he may be enabled to decide upon the merits of every case coming before him, according to the best of his judgment, and to the dictates of his conscience; and that, having acted upon these principles of perfect independence throughout my public life, no considerations can tempt me to deviate from them in any public situation in which I may hereafter be placed.

"Having briefly stated my honest opinion on this great question, I shall now notice in a summary way the circumstance which has given occasion to my offering the foregoing explanation.

"I was called upon by a Proprietor to give a pledge that I was friendly to particular views connected with this subject, and disposed to promote particular objects. This demand I resisted *in limine;* and it appeared to me more particularly necessary that I should make a stand, because the interference of the Government was distinctly pointed at. I was told, it is true, that 'it was not wished that the Government should come forward with the sword, but with the olive-branch.'

"On my declining to give the pledge required, the Proprietor observed that 'it was high time for him and other Proprietors who thought as he did, to look out for a candidate who would give such a pledge; and that it was high time for those, who were not Proprietors, to become such for the same purpose.'

"This species of intimidation was not only very offensive to my feelings personally, but it appeared to me highly unjustifiable on public considerations; for if a party, or body of men, can combine successfully to impose conditions upon a candidate, it is obvious that his independence is completely destroyed, and that he must enter upon his public station, not for the purpose of acting according to the dictates of his own judgment and conscience, but as the agent of a party. It is, moreover, evident that such a power of prescribing terms to a candidate, or of excluding him upon a refusal, might be employed to serve the most sordid and selfish purposes.

"The very peremptory requisition which was made by the Proprietor in question, appeared to me the more unreasonable, as I had grounds to believe that it was not his intention to support me; and although this circumstance did not prevent my answering his questions, I certainly felt that he had no right to demand a gratuitous pledge from me, when he had no intention, even if satisfied, to afford me that support which might be considered as furnishing a plea for the attempt to exact conditions from me.

"Under the irritation of feeling which this circumstance produced, the conversation was not carried on in that calm and dispassionate manner, which is proper and desirable in all cases, and more especially on an occasion where religion is the subject. I was, in consequence, misunderstood, and my opinions have since been misrepresented; but although the misstatement was calculated to prejudice my interests, I feel such a repugnance to everything which might lead to controversy, that I have refrained from noticing it; nor do I harbour any anger or resentment against the individual who (unintentionally, I am willing to hope) has done me the injury.

"In truth, it has been my wish and my study to obtain the

good-will of all good men, and to conciliate, as far as possible, even my opponents; but, much as I have had this object at heart, I still could never consent to sacrifice a principle—to disguise an opinion—or to attain, by unworthy compliances, an object which, however desirable in itself, would lose all its value in my estimation, unless it were attained by means quite unobjectionable, and in a manner perfectly satisfactory to my own feelings."

From another and an unexpected quarter a clamor against Mr. Tucker was raised, too, at this time, intended, perhaps, to prejudice his chances of success. It was said that in his office of Financial Secretary, in 1810, he had counselled a breach of faith to the Public. The outcry was raised by those holders of public securities, who had suffered by the financial measures of Lord Minto's Government, at the time when the threatened transfer of so large a portion of the Public Debt to England rendered it necessary to restrict the power, possessed by the Indian creditor, of converting his securities into Bills upon the Court of Directors.* The old debt had been placed in course of payment, and a new eight-per-cent. loan, divested of the privilege of remittance, had been opened in its stead; but this course had been suggested by Lord Minto himself.† Mr. Tucker had counselled another. This he now explained in a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Strachey, concluding with the following sentences, couched in a strain of characteristic manliness: "I can truly

* See *ante*—Chapter VIII.

† See letter from Lord Minto, quoted at page 242.

say," he wrote, "that throughout my public life I have been anxious only to do my duty to the best of my judgment: I am content to leave my conduct to be judged by the Public, and to stand or fall by the decision which may be passed upon it. In offering myself as a candidate for the Direction, my chief object is to obtain occupation—public and honorable employment; but if any individual can believe that I ever counselled a measure involving a breach of faith to the Public, that individual will do right to exclude me for ever from all public trust. He will not, however, do right to pass judgment, in ignorance, in this or any other case. For the rest I can only say, that whether right or wrong, I shall continue to act always on the principles on which I ever have acted; and those must not trust me for the Future, who have reason to disapprove of the Past."*

In letters to other friends, written at a somewhat later period, he thus spoke of his chances of success, and of the motives by which he was actuated: "In truth," he wrote, "if I find that I am not likely to receive the support of those who have most influence in deciding upon the fate of a candidate, I shall not long persevere in an unavailing attempt. I came forward with no unworthy motives, and it will cost me no violent effort to retire, if I should find that I am not likely to obtain the countenance and

* The letter from which this passage is taken is given complete in the Appendix. It may advantageously be read in illustration of a portion of the *Eighth* Chapter.

assistance of those who act upon public grounds. . . . . I am not backward in encountering difficulties; but to exchange domestic comfort and independence for all the annoyances of a protracted struggle against desperate odds, is not the course which any prudent man would pursue." And in another letter, written like the preceding one, in the autumn of 1822, he said: "If I had not believed that there was among the Directors, as well as among some of the Proprietors, a disposition to countenance the pretensions of those who have had opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge and experience in India, I should never have exchanged comfort and independence for the annoyances of a canvass. As it is, I must now bring the thing to a test; and if I am disappointed, I trust that I shall only have to regret the loss of time which might, perhaps, have been better employed."

And early in the following year he did "bring the thing to a test"—I need not dwell any longer on this first canvassing period, extending as it did over a space of more than three years; enough has been said on the subject. Mr. Mills, Colonel Baillie, and Mr. Masterman having been elected, Mr. Tucker determined to contest the next vacancy. Early in 1824, Sir Thomas Reid, who on more than one occasion had occupied the chair, was removed from the Direction by death. A ballot at the India House was fixed for the 23rd of March. Three candidates then went to the poll—Mr. Tucker, Mr. Muspratt,

and Sir Robert Farquhar. It was understood that the contest would lie between the two former.

A ballot at the India House is destitute of all the rude turmoil, the noise, the confusion, the outrages, the broad practical humors of a contested election in county or borough; but it is not without excitement of a certain kind; and there is often a humorous side to it, too, intelligible to the initiated looker-on. There are no Hustings, and there are no speeches. The election lasts but a single day. The votes, written on paper, are slipped into a certain number of ballot-boxes, or vases, lettered alphabetically, so that each elector knows in which to deposit his vote-paper. Scrutineers are appointed, and the voting over, the contents of the vases are counted out. This is a very simple and a very common-place process—not provocative, it would seem, of much excitement or of much mirth. But the activity of the friends of the candidates, during the election, sometimes exhibits itself in a strange manner; and Mr. Tucker used to relate how, on this occasion, one friend carried up several of his voters to the wrong side of the poll, and how another was discovered, by some strange accident, distributing his opponent's cards. These were purely unintentional *gaucheries;* but there were some accidents of voting on the wrong side done on purpose, and some resort to electioneering tactics of a very questionable kind. In the heat of the contest weapons were used, which would not have been

employed in cooler moments, and which cannot be remembered without pain by the most zealous partisan.

The result of the Election was the defeat of Mr. Tucker. On examining the glasses, it was found that he had polled 684 votes; and Mr. Muspratt, 752.*

It does not seem that, as is the wont of defeated candidates, in like cases, he immediately began to prosecute another canvass, or determined to contest the next vacancy. He turned his thoughts, indeed, towards other matters, and at one time contemplated the formation of a commercial partnership with a gentleman of considerable ability and reputation, who was among the most active members of the Court of Proprietors. Announcing this to his friend, Mr. Sherer, who had recently returned to India, he wrote, "You may conclude from the present suggestion, that I have given up all thoughts of the Direction. This is not exactly the case, although in reality I am not so anxious about the attainment of the object as I was, nor so much disposed to make any great sacrifice for its accomplishment. If there should be a break or vacancy in the House List, I shall come forward, and with a fair prospect of success; but my present plan is to avoid an individual contest, until I can secure such support from the Directors and others as will place the issue beyond all uncertainty."

This was written in 1825. It was in the early

* Sir Robert Farquhar polled 398.

part of this year that he published his work on the "Financial Situation of the East India Company." It was intended to form part of a larger work; but as he intimated, in an "Advertisement" prefixed to it, "the undertaking originally contemplated could not have been completed for a considerable time, and as the subject embraced in these pages was of more immediate interest, he had been induced to submit the present Essay to the Public, detached from other matter." This was not the first time that he had fixed his ideas on the printed page. In 1813 he had sent home for publication in Edinburgh, a work entitled "Reflections on the Present State of Great Britain, with Relation chiefly to its Finances." It had been studied during his English furlough, and written during the monotonous leisure of the voyage to India.* Authorship was, therefore, nothing new to him when he published his volume on Indian Finance—a work containing the gathered results of much thought and long experience, which no one can write upon the subject without consulting with advantage.

But although, for a little while, the ardor of Mr. Tucker's pursuit after what had been a laudable object of ambition—a seat in the Home Government of India—had considerably abated, circumstances ere long tended to revive it. He had, it has been seen, determined to come forward to contest a seat

* Writing to his friend Mr. Myers, of this work, he said, "My opinions will not be relished by some I am aware; but I care not; my object is to speak truth and to do good."

in the Direction, only if an opportunity should be afforded to him at one of the periodical April elections. On these occasions, the six members who a year before had "gone out by rotation," underwent the form of re-election, in the place of six other retiring members. All the six vacant seats might legally be contested; but the custom was to re-elect the old members without opposition. It sometimes, however, happened that a vacancy was created by the death, resignation, or disqualification of one of these six Directors; and then at the April election the new candidates came forward and were included with the old Directors in the list out of which six members were to be chosen. It was then nominally an election of six Directors, but in reality only of one, or of as many as there were gaps in the old number. Now it happened that early in 1826 there were two of these gaps to be filled. Mr. Tucker determined, therefore, in pursuance of his old intention, to present himself to the constituency at the April election. Mr. James Stuart, and Captain, afterwards Sir James Rivett Carnac, also announced their intention of going to the poll.

The contest was a keen one. The scrutiny lasted till morning, and the anxiety of the scrutineers was kept alive to the last. The votes were so equally balanced, that at one time, as they were being counted out, Mr. Tucker would be in the minority; a quarter of an hour later he would command a majority. It seemed at one time that the election was going against him, and the friendly scrutineer

trembled for his success. But when the last glass, containing the letters R to Z, was being counted out, the aspect of affairs brightened. A large number of Mr. Tucker's supporters were to be found under these initials. The lost ground was regained; and at the end of the scrutiny it was found that he was in a majority of twenty-three.

A brief note from the friendly scrutineer despatched early in the morning to Portland-place, announced to Mr. Tucker the result of the election. The majority was a small one. But there were many powerful interests arrayed against him; and he was returned solely on the strength of his individual merits. Even those who had opposed him acknowledged the goodness of the choice, and some influential men, who had thrown the whole of their weight into the scales on the side of the enemy, throughout all the years of Mr. Tucker's candidateship, frankly told him that they had committed a mistake. They were men above the suspicion of interested motives; but there were others who now rushed in to pay homage to success, finding high qualities in the Director which they had never admitted in the Candidate, and pretending to be the humble friend and admirer of the man whom they had covertly opposed.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Tucker in the Direction—His peculiar Qualifications—His Zeal and Activity—Early Efforts—Questions of Land-Revenue—Resumption Operations—Salt and Opium Revenues—The Company's Charter—Negotiations with the Board of Control—Mr. Tucker's Minutes.

Mr. Tucker was now a member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company—the twenty-fourth part of a King. When I say that he was eminently fitted for the post, I do not hazard an assertion to be attributed to the partiality of the Biographer; but state a fact, which all who have followed me thus far—who, having acquainted themselves with Mr. Tucker's antecedents, reflect upon the character and constitution of the Company, as then established—will accept without a demur. The East India Company was, in those days, still a "Company of Merchants," and its functions were therefore two-fold. It was the duty of the Directors to regulate the Trade* of the Company, and to administer the Government of a great Empire. Now

* I need not explain that in 1826 it was only the China trade that remained to the Company—but still the administration of their commercial affairs constituted no unimportant part of their business.

Mr. Tucker had been a merchant, and he had been an administrator. He was as conversant with affairs of Commerce as with affairs of State. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Revenue and Judicial systems of India. He was the best Financier that ever concerned himself with the Company's accounts. He had a true regard for the interests of all classes of the Indian Community, from the Prince to the Peasant. He had a genuine respect for the faith of Treaties; and, to the very core, he was an honest man.

He entered upon his new duties with a full heart. His whole soul, indeed, was in his work. He ever had been an indefatigable man of business. His capacity for labor was unbounded. Even under the exhausting influence of the damp heats of Bengal, he had at the same time regulated the Financial operations of the Empire, and the business of a gigantic mercantile house. He now saw that there was abundance of work before him; and he regarded it with the liveliest satisfaction. He had gone into the Direction to work; and his practice did not belie his intentions. I have heard it said that the earnestness with which he at once took part in the discussions of the Court, and the freedom with which he expressed his opinions, was not considered by some of the more punctilious members of the Court becoming in a "young Director." But Mr. Tucker, though a young Director, was not a young man. He had lived more than half a century in the world; and had been graduating for five-and-thirty years in the

school of Indian statesmanship. During five or six of these years he had been before the Court and the Public as an Embryo Director, and throughout that period he had been maturing his views of all the great questions which were likely to be discussed in the Council-chamber of Leadenhall-street. It is not strange, therefore, that being not at all a formalist, or a tactician, and probably altogether unacquainted with the etiquette of the Assembly of which he was now a member, he should have gone about his work without a probationary interval of silence.

Mr. Tucker entered the Court at a period of comparative tranquillity. Great questions were looming in the distance—they had not yet come on for discussion. But there were then, as there always are, many measures of internal administration greatly affecting the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people, calling for present consideration, and therefore engaging the energies of the Court. Among these were matters of Land-revenue—those especially of the settlement of the North-Western Provinces and the Resumption of Rent-free tenures. From his youth upwards, Mr. Tucker had been a consistent advocate and supporter of that great system of landed-revenue introduced into Bengal and Behar during the administration of Lord Cornwallis, known as the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The lessons, which he had learnt as a boy, when Thomas Law and George Barlow were his associates at Gyah, had remained impressed upon his mind in the full maturity of his years and

his intellect. He had never departed, indeed, for a moment from his abiding faith—faith the result of personal knowledge and experience; the evidence, indeed, of his senses—in the wisdom of a system under which the Lower Provinces of India had continued to increase in prosperity. He had been a party, moreover, to the promises given to the landholders of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, that the same system of fixed assessment should become the law of the land in that newly-acquired portion of our Indian possessions; and he had never ceased to protest against the departure from the pledges of Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto which, subsequently, under other counsels, had been ordained by the Government of Leadenhall-street. So it happened, that when the measures, which finally resulted in what is now known as the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces, were under consideration at the India House, they did not meet with Mr. Tucker's support.

He was in a minority at the India House—but he did not fight the battle alone. There were one or two who sided with him—one especially who was "a host in himself." On all questions of Land-revenue—indeed, on almost all questions whether affecting the internal administration of the country or our exterior relations—the opinions of Mr. Edmonstone were identical with those of Mr. Tucker. They had been brought up very much in the same school, and they entertained for each other the

warmest regard until death put a period to their friendship.

Strongly, however, as he expressed himself upon this subject, there was not one which called forth a louder, a more earnest expression of opinion, than that which is known generally by the name of the Resumption of Rent-free tenures—that is, the assessment of tracts of land which, for various reasons, had been held rent-free for years, with the cognisance of Government, although documentary evidence of legal exemption was not to be adduced. When Mr. Tucker first entered the Court of Directors these measures were only in their infancy. But he very soon perceived, both in the Court and at the Board of Control, indications of this propensity to increase the revenue, at the risk not only of exciting popular discontent, but of violating substantive Justice. The measures which then suggested themselves to the Authorities, were in themselves moderate and forbearing in comparison with those which were subsequently carried into effect; and it was, probably, in anticipation of the tendency of all such measures to gather strength from progress, that Mr. Tucker determined at the outset to oppose the introduction of the "small end of the wedge." Thus, in July, 1827, the Board had introduced into a Revenue despatch a passage relative to certain of these rent-free estates in the Lower Provinces, in which they said: "As we have no doubt, however, that there is a considerable quantity of land to which the holders have no better title than

what is constituted by the loose and indefinite settlement which became permanent, we conceive that the uncertainty which prevails on both sides might be removed with satisfaction to the holders of the land, though with some sacrifice on the part of Government, by a compromise. Something of the nature," they added, "of what is called a fine in English law might be taken, perhaps in the shape of a stamp, for the grant of a Sunnud, confirming the property in the land to which this uncertainty attaches; and the amount of the stamp should bear a proportion to the value of the property thereby confirmed."

To this the Board had added a suggestion, that the fine might be commuted for the payment of a small annual revenue—but admitted, at the same time, that in the permanently assessed districts the exercise of such power must be preceded by a Judicial Inquiry, and to this end they hinted that a Commission, similar to that established by the famous Regulation I. of 1821, might be appointed.

From all this Mr. Tucker dissented:

"1st. Because the grounds on which it is proposed to exercise the power of taxation, are acknowledged to be doubtful and uncertain; while the terms of the order are so vague and general, that it may be extended to cases where its application would be both impolitic and unjust.

"2nd. Because any proposition for the increase of the land-tax within the territory permanently assessed, will be regarded by the people of India (and justly, too) as a violation of the Settlement concluded in Bengal by the Supreme Government

in 1790, and confirmed and ratified in 1792 by the public authorities in this country.

"3rd. Because the proceeding enjoined by the Board will be attended with so many difficulties, that any increase of revenue likely to result from it will be but a poor compensation for the expense—the labor—the loss of time—and other inconveniences incidental to the proposed scrutiny.

"Lastly. Because the Board's order, if confined to the Sunderbunds, or other territory, *not included in the Permanent Settlement*, is at variance with the special instructions conveyed to the Bengal Government in the Court's letter of the 11th June, 1823; and if this order be intended to have *a general application to the settled territory*, it is at variance with the paragraph immediately preceding it in the Court's present despatch, and with the letter and spirit of the existing Regulations. . . ."

After considering in detail the description of lands to which this order might be made to refer, Mr. Tucker proceeded thus emphatically to declare his opinions:

"That the landholders will consider the proffered 'compromise' as the first step towards the abrogation of the Permanent Settlement—of that settlement which is evidently viewed in some quarters with no very friendly feeling—cannot, I think, be doubted. I myself regard it in this light. It is to tear the seal off the bond—it is to make the first breach in a formal compact, which I had hoped, for the honor of the British name, would have been held inviolate as long as our empire in the East should endure: it is calculated to shake all confidence in our engagements, to weaken the attachment of the landholders to our government, and to destroy the little credit which we have established by one solitary act of self-denial in limiting the public demand upon the land. The landholders, I repeat, will view this first inroad upon them with jealousy, distrust, and dismay; they will feel that after the first barrier has been broken down, further breaches will be made, and a

less scrupulous* proceeding be hereafter resorted to; while even those who have no interest in the question will not fail to perceive that, if the demand of additional revenue, in the way of 'compromise,' or otherwise, can be enforced *from an estate permanently assessed*, upon the ground that the original contract was 'loose and indefinite,' there never can be wanting a plea for calling in question the most sacred engagements, and there never can be any safe ground of reliance on the steadiness, the moderation, and good faith of a Government which, for its own purposes, assumes to itself the right to revise and set at nought its own acts, after the lapse of thirty-five years. . . ."

That tracts of land were held rent-free, which had no title, legal or equitable, to such exemptions from assessment—that in many cases fraud had been at work—that boundaries had been passed, land-marks removed unlawfully—that by artifice and connivance the limits of rent-free holdings had been frequently extended, Mr. Tucker did not deny; but it was his opinion that it would be the wiser course to submit to a certain amount of imposition, rather than gain a small accession of revenue at the cost, not only of great inconvenience and considerable expense, in the way of adjudication and collection, but of much personal injury and injustice, and a sense of general insecurity and alarm. "I am quite satisfied," he wrote, "that the appointment of a Commissioner to revise and new-model that which has existed undisturbed for a period of thirty-five years, would be received by the landholders of Bengal with terror and despondency. It is not difficult to issue mandates which may affect a whole people; but before we

* *This has actually occurred.*—H. St.G. T.

do so let us not conceal from ourselves the possible consequences; and let us at least pause before we determine to prosecute an object which is not pretended to be of much value, at the risk of compromising the rights and of forfeiting the attachment of our native subjects." At a later period, when resumption-measures on a gigantic scale were in progress, Mr. Tucker lifted up his voice loudly against them in Court, and recorded many an earnest dissent or vehement protest for the perusal of his colleagues. The question was one which was much discussed and debated, both in India and in England; and the names of many able and benevolent men were to be found arrayed on both sides of the controversy. It is not my province, in this place, to do more than record the fact.

I have spoken, however, of dissents and protests, of discussions and debates—and it need not be concealed that Mr. Tucker was sometimes at variance with his colleagues, and that he was sometimes, too, in a minority. The necessary inference from this is, that either Mr. Tucker or the Court was in the wrong. Now, infallibility is not to be claimed for any human creature or any human tribunal. But what, it may be asked, would be thought, collectively and individually, of any body of men who were to dismiss the business that came before them without any expression of adverse opinions? The discussions of the Court of Directors are the safeguard of India. It is not to be expected—it is not to be desired—that all the members of the Court should hold the same opinions. A deliberative body com-

posed of four-and-twenty gentlemen, of different professions, different antecedents, different political opinions, and different habits of mind, is intended to antagonise. Antagonism is a proof of zeal—a proof of honesty—a proof of activity. The decision arrived at may not in all cases be the right one, for, as I have said, no human tribunal is infallible. But, whatever it may be, it has been reached after full consideration and discussion. Of course, among four-and-twenty members there are different degrees of zeal and ability. Some men devote more time and attention to the consideration of the great questions which come before them, and are more competent to form correct opinions than others; but the aggregate result is the devotion of much thought and the application of much knowledge to their elucidation; and, at all events, every case is decided upon what is believed to be its merits, without any detraction or diversion on the score of party feeling or political strife.*

Among the earliest subjects, too, to which he directed his attention, after taking his seat in the India House, were the cultivation of Cotton and Sugar, and the Salt and Opium Revenues. There was no man more diligent in his efforts to further the production of the staple commodities—indeed, in every possible way to develope the resources—of a country which was being sacrificed to the commercial cupidity of the British capitalist. Against the

* I write this in the present tense. Though the "Four-and-Twenty" Directors will soon belong to the Past, the argument will hold good when the number is reduced to eighteen, though not in the same degree.

policy which excluded from Great Britain the produce of the Agriculture and the Manufactures of India, whilst it threw wide open the ports of India to the produce of the British Isles, he earnestly and indignantly remonstrated. He saw that the most diligent promoters and the most clamorous exponents of that policy—that the men who were doing their utmost to depress the commerce of India and to impoverish the people—were fast becoming the loudest inveighers against the imputed misrule under which, as they said, a once flourishing country was sinking into decay. On the Salt-Tax and the Opium Monopoly he wrote, from first to last, with undeviating consistency—maintaining that there were inherent objections to both sources of Revenue, but that the amount which they yielded to the State was necessary for purposes of government. But he laid down as the principle that should regulate the collection of these taxes, that whereas, in the case of the Salt-duties, it should be our object to levy the necessary amount of revenue upon the largest possible quantity of the article taxed; in the case of the Opium-tax the system should be the reverse—the amount should be drawn from the smallest possible quantity that could yield the necessary revenue. In the latter instance, he subsequently declared that this salutary principle had been violated; and he both deplored and condemned the extended production of the deleterious drug.*

* See, for papers on these subjects, Tucker's "Memorials of Indian Government."

To questions of Finance he naturally devoted no little attention at this time; and his opinions were much sought by his colleagues. To one subject, especially, in connexion with the Financial affairs of the Company's Government, he applied himself with no common earnestness. The question of the Currency was then before the Company. Great inconvenience had long resulted from the different descriptions of silver coins which were used both in Government and Commercial transactions. The rupee was the common coin of the country; but there were all sorts of rupees in circulation. What was known as the Sicca rupee, had, in 1773, been recognised by the British Government as the legal coin of the country. But there had been other rupees of different standards in circulation—the Benares rupee, the Bombay rupee, the Furruckabad rupee, the Madras and Arcot rupee—and then there was the Sonaut rupee, which was rather the nominal representative of value than an existing coin. The Sonaut rupee, an old and much worn piece of silver money, had, indeed, been called in, in 1793; but although the coin itself had disappeared, it had continued to be the common standard for the measurement of all military disbursements. The troops had been actually paid in the current coin of the provinces in which they were posted. Thus, in the Lower Provinces, they had been paid in the Sicca rupee, according to the true standard of the value of the silver. As the Sicca rupee was the most valuable coin (being nearly five per cent. above the Sonaut),

there was, of course, a deduction or discount when the coin came to be counted out. For every 104 rupees and 5 annas (Sonaut) a hundred rupees (Sicca) were paid. In other parts of India, however, the current coin—the Benares, Furruckabad, Arcot rupee, &c.—so nearly assimilated to the recognised standard of payment that it was actually used, rupee for rupee, in the settlement of accounts. All this, as I have said, caused great public inconvenience; and it appeared both to the authorities in India and in England, that the establishment of an uniform coinage would be attended with advantageous results. Mr. Tucker perceived the advantages of such a system, but his practised eye saw clearly that it was surrounded by difficulties and dangers, only to be avoided by wisdom and wariness in the execution of the details. He contended that both in the adjustment of the pay of the public establishments, and the realisation of the revenue, either a sacrifice of the dues of Government, or an injustice to the public, was likely to arise from the alteration of the coin; and at the end of an elaborate minute, showing that minute acquaintance with the details of the Indian currency which was to be expected from so eminent a Financier, he thus summed up his cautionary suggestions:

"I submit that the following questions must be decided before we can proceed to reduce the value of the established currency of Bengal in the proportion of six and a half per cent.:

"First. Whether the pay of the Bengal army shall be regulated

anew, in order to give the officers and men in the new currency, or Arcot rupee, the full value of their present regulated pay in Sonaut rupees; that is—whether an addition of about two per cent. shall be made to the present complement of pay in the Sonaut rupee.

"Secondly. Whether the land-revenue of Bengal shall be re-assessed, in order that the Government may obtain a greater number of rupees in Tale, in proportion to their diminished value; or whether the Government, in order to avoid the reproach of having violated a solemn compact, shall determine to sacrifice a sum of not less than twenty lakhs of rupees in annual revenue.

"Thirdly. Whether, in the event of its being determined not to make such a sacrifice of income, the Government will compel the Zemindars in the settled territory to adhere to the existing *pottahs*, or leases, and to make that sacrifice of effective income which the Government itself will not make; or whether they will authorise the landholders to recall and cancel the present *pottahs*, and to re-adjust the rents of their Ryots and under-tenants upon the same principle on which the Government re-assess the public revenue.

"These questions involve considerations of great moment; and whatever alternative may be embraced, considerable inconvenience is to be apprehended. We cannot, however, escape from the dilemma, if it be resolved to proceed in effecting the equalisation of the currency; and all I would further urge on the present occasion is, that we proceed with great caution and deliberation—that the difficulties of the case be fairly met, and that, in our anxiety to obviate them, no step be taken inconsistent with the obligations of good faith, and with that spirit of justice by which the proceedings of a Government ought always to be characterised."

It would take not one, but many volumes, to enter into all the historical circumstances connected with Mr. Tucker's very varied minutes. It is sufficient to state, in this instance, that an uniform silver

coin, known as the Company's rupee—a coin bearing the image and superscription of the Queen of England instead of the old Mogul legend, acknowledging the supremacy of the House of Timour—was struck at the Company's mints, and substituted for the heterogeneous coinage of old times; and that the measure was carried out with so much wisdom and discretion that no evil resulted from the change.

But a greater question than any of these was now pressing forward, for the consideration not only of the Court of Directors collectively, but of every individual member of the great Corporation. The Charter, under which India was governed and the exclusive trade with China was carried on, was now approaching the close of its permitted span of existence; and it was generally believed that some vital changes would be introduced into the Act under which thenceforth British connexion with India was to be maintained. The previous Charter had deprived the Company of the monopoly of the trade with India; and it was now apprehended that the Legislature would seek to deprive them altogether of the remnant of their exclusive mercantile privileges, and convert the Court of Directors into a purely administrative body.

The country had been, for years, becoming more and more inveterate against all monopolies. The genius of Free-trade was pushing onward with resistless strides. The accumulation of Capital and the advances of Science had rendered Englishmen more alive to the necessity of opening out new fields

for the exercise of their commercial activity; and without any very great knowledge of the subject, they argued that what was worth keeping was worth taking, and that if any benefit were derivable from the trade with China, it ought to be enjoyed by the country at large. Before the Charter-Act of 1813 had numbered half of its allotted years, Committees had been appointed to investigate the whole question of Exclusive Trade, and they had reported in favor of a relaxation of existing restrictions. It was not consistent with public faith to interfere with the privileges of the East India Company until the expiration of their Charter—but it was generally felt that the monopoly could not survive the Act under which it was then maintained.

Some vague Parliamentary discussions in 1829 were succeeded by a substantial movement, in the early part of the following year, calling for an inquiry into "the present state of the affairs of the East India Company." Lord Ellenborough in one House, and Mr. Peel in the other, moved for the appointment of Select Committees, at the beginning of February; and from that time the investigation into both the commercial and administrative affairs of the Company proceeded with but slight intermission. In July the Commons' Committee reported on the China Trade; and in October the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors were invited to an interview with the Premier and the President of the India Board;* and informed

* The Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough.

that, in all probability, on the expiration of the existing Charter, the Government of India would be left in the hands of the Company, but that the China monopoly would cease. From that time the Court of Directors were in a continual state of controversy with his Majesty's Ministers relative to the arrangements which were to be made for the future management of their affairs, and in these controversies Mr. Tucker took no undistinguished part.*

Before the close of the year 1830, the Government, of which the Duke of Wellington was the Chief, was compelled to resign the seals of office; and a Whig Cabinet was formed, in its place, under the direction of Lord Grey. In the distribution of the new Ministry, the chief seat at the India Board was allotted to Mr. Charles Grant. The distinguished son of a distinguished father—one who had graduated in the best school of Indian politics, and who, from his very boyhood upwards, had been endeavoring to render himself familiar with the history, the institutions, and the usages of our Eastern Empire—one, who twenty years before, when yet a young member and a young man, had earned a great Parliamentary reputation by a series of able speeches on the subject of Indian Government—he was, of all the adherents of Lord Grey, the one best fitted by his personal qualifications to preside at the Board

* In a work of this description, I am compelled to touch briefly upon this important chapter of Indian history; but the negotiations relative to the renewal of the Charter have been narrated so much in detail, and with so much clearness by Mr. Thornton, in his fifth volume, that I can hardly regret the compulsory brevity of my own account of these transactions.

of Control. His qualifications were not solely of an intellectual character. He had high moral qualities, which rendered those who were deeply concerned for the welfare of India and her people hopeful in the extreme of the good results which might flow from his connexion with her affairs. He was a humane, and, in intention, he was a just man. His integrity was unquestioned. It was said of him, at a later period, that he was indolent and compliant—that he lacked energy and firmness, and, indeed, all the sterner and robuster qualities. But these defects must have grown upon him, for it is certain that during the greater part of his tenure of office, as President of the India Board, he exhibited an extraordinary amount of activity, and sometimes, as will be gathered from a subsequent chapter of this Memoir, a degree of firmness which, in a bad cause, degenerated into obstinacy. Upon Mr. Grant now devolved the duty of incubating the new East India Bill, and superintending, on the part of the Government, the necessary negotiations with the Company.

As the son of an old East India Director—as one, too, who had battled manfully on the side of the Company—the new President of the India Board was little likely to bring to the performance of his duties any prejudices against that great Corporation. It was certain, however, that the Company's exclusive privileges of Trade must cease and determine in 1834. The country had determined that question; and whether a Wellington or a Grey

were supreme in Downing-street—an Ellenborough or a Grant in Cannon-row—it was equally useless to endeavor to obtain a reprieve for the monopoly against which sentence of death had been irrevocably written down. The Commercial affairs of the Company were to be wound up; there was no question in the public mind about that—but there was a question as to how they were to be wound up—how the commercial assets of the Company were to be disposed of consistently with the just claims of that body and the interests of the British nation. The Company, however, battled manfully for the preservation of their old privileges; and it must be acknowledged that they brought forward many substantial arguments in their defence, and exploded many injurious errors which had been disseminated by their opponents. But they had to contend against a violent pressure from without. It had long ceased to be a question to be decided by argument. The temper of the times was not favorable to the maintenance of monopolies of any kind. The nation had made up its mind upon the subject. The Court argued, and argued truly, that the Commerce of the Company had been advantageous to the interests of India, inasmuch as that its profits had been devoted to purposes of territorial administration. But it had ceased to be an Indian question—a question between the Company and the people of India; it was a question between the Company and the people of England. And whatever might be

the gain of the monopoly to India, England declared that she could not away with it.

When, therefore, on the 10th of December, 1832, at a conference between Lord Grey and Mr. Grant on one side, and the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman on the other, a memorandum, or paper of Hints, illustrative of the Government plan for the future management of Indian affairs, was laid before the latter, it cannot have been matter of surprise to them that the first words it contained were "The China monopoly to cease."

It is beyond the scope of this Memoir, and would hardly answer any useful purpose at the present time, to enlarge upon the discussions of 1832-33, relative to the abandonment of the China Trade, or on the course which was pursued by the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors. It is enough that, at every stage of the proceedings, Mr. Tucker was active among the active, and drew up many vigorously-written papers upon the Government scheme. Of the measure, in respect of the abolition of the trade, he wrote in one of those minutes: "Viewed in its commercial and financial relations and bearings, it impresses me with the most serious apprehension. A more sudden or violent change in the commercial policy of a country has rarely been witnessed; and although it may not be attended with permanent evil, it must produce temporary derangement. The accustomed channel of Commerce has been broken up. The stream has been diverted

from its course, and those noble establishments which flourished on its banks are now doomed to desolation and ruin. We ought to have made a stand at the threshold, and to have insisted, as a preliminary condition, that time should at least be allowed us to wind up the commercial concerns of the Company, and to prepare for the gradual introduction of those changes in our commercial system, which may have so extensive an influence upon the national interests, and more immediately upon the interests of this vast metropolis."

It was Mr. Tucker's opinion, as may in part be gathered from the above passage, that the Company sacrificed their chances of success by holding back at times when they ought to have pressed forward; and that if they had come out more boldly to meet their opponents, they would not have been so worsted in the contest. It was his opinion, as early as 1830, that it was expedient for the Court of Directors to prepare their case, by collecting and arranging documents, illustrative of their good administration of the Company's territories, so that there might be something before the country in answer to the vehement and unscrupulous attacks of their opponents:

"About two years ago," he wrote in 1832, "I suggested the expediency of our appointing a Select Committee to collect, arrange, and digest evidence which might bear upon the many important questions connected with the administration of India, and with the commercial affairs of the East India Company, then about to undergo public investigation; and I urged that such a body of evidence was not only essential to facilitate the labors of the two Committees of Parliament, but that it was

highly necessary with a view to justify the past administration of the Company, and to substantiate its claim to a continuance of public confidence. This opinion I have since repeated on different occasions; and I now find that the late reference to us from the Board of Commissioners *point directly to some of the objects of inquiry contemplated by me.*

"My suggestion was overruled, and the Committee of Correspondence, consisting of eleven members, with two associates subsequently added, was appointed 'specially to *watch* over the proceedings in Parliament, so far as regards the East India Company,' and to report, from time to time, to the Court, &c. In other words, a special, a most difficult, and most important duty merged into the ordinary business of a Committee, which has already, in my opinion, more work imposed upon it than it can successfully execute.

"I am bound to believe that the Committee have been most sedulous in the discharge of the trust reposed in them; but, with the exception of a secret report of a conference held with his Majesty's late Ministers in October, 1830, I have not yet seen the produce of their labors. If evidence has been collected and arranged to assist our own deliberations, or to aid the inquiries of his Majesty's Government, or of Parliament, it has not yet been submitted to the Court. If conferences have since taken place, if the views and intentions of the present Ministers have been ascertained, if the basis of any plan for the future administration of India, and for regulating the Company's trade, has been propounded and discussed, I have yet to learn what has been done, and what it is proposed to do. I have been asked by persons who take a deep interest in the welfare of India, and who have a deep stake in the well-being of the East India Company, if we have no case to bring forward—if we have no means of repelling the attacks which are so perseveringly made upon us by our indefatigable opponents. In my opinion we have a case, and a very strong case; but we have taken no steps to bring it fairly before Parliament and the Public. The members of this Court have not yet, to my knowledge, interchanged opinions upon the vital questions which

must be present to the mind of every man who knows anything of India, and who takes an interest in the prosperity of that country. We have not communed together for the purpose of coming to an understanding with respect to the course which we ought to pursue in order to obtain a renewal of our Charter, both as the means of securing to the natives of India the blessings of good government, and of continuing in the East India Company one great commercial function which it has so long exercised, and which, I maintain, it is still competent to exercise with signal benefit to the national interests. I own that I feel indignant at the idea of our tamely and silently submitting, without even a struggle, to the annihilation of a great political and commercial body, which has occupied so distinguished a place in history, and from whose councils and arms a ray of glory was shed over the mother country, at times when discomfiture and misfortune in the western hemisphere had cast a shade over its destinies.

"But shall I be told, as I have been told in debate, that our policy is to wait, and our best position that of defence? I contend, on the contrary, that we are in a false position—that we have waited too long—and that every day's delay in bringing forward our case is injurious to the Company. Are we to wait until this Company is left a mere wreck to abide the contempt of its assailants? to contend, in the last hour of existence, against popular clamor and prejudice, popular ignorance and commercial cupidity?

"Again, I may be told that it will be more prudent to stand aloof until the near approach of the period when the Charter expires; as his Majesty's Ministers will then be so embarrassed with the difficulty and magnitude of the undertaking, that they must shrink from it, and allow everything to proceed as heretofore.

"This would be both a foolish and a dishonest policy, which my colleagues, I am sure, can never countenance. Public men are rarely seen to possess this sort of salutary diffidence—this distrust of their own powers; and it would not, I apprehend, be easy to persuade them that they are not sufficiently imbued

with that knowledge and experience, and with those sound and comprehensive views of Indian policy, which are so essential to the preservation of our vast empire in the East.

"Still, it may be urged that the very delicate question of settling the future constitution of India, and of arranging the Company's commercial concerns, must be left to the discretion, wisdom, and diplomatic talents of the Chairs, who are the official organs of the Court in conducting all negotiations with his Majesty's Ministers. I have the utmost respect for our high functionaries; but I cannot consent to place my judgment wholly in abeyance. Nor can they exempt me from the performance of my own duty. Every Director is called upon to take part in the proceedings of the Court; and must act upon his own individual responsibility. We have all undertaken a sacred trust—we have all sworn to perform the duties incidental to it, according to the best of our judgment, and there is no power which can grant us a dispensation if those duties be neglected. But even admitting that the Chairs can in the first instance most conveniently conduct a negotiation with his Majesty's Ministers, I still think that they ought to be fortified with the opinions of the Court, and that we ought to be prepared with a clear and comprehensive statement of our case. When the last Charter was to be renewed, the negotiations commenced in 1808, or five years before its expiration; whereas we are now within about two years of the termination of our present Charter, with less support from the Government to rest upon, and with stronger opposition from the Public to contend against—without our having yet made, as far as I can perceive, any progress whatever to set ourselves right with that public, and to support the just claims of the East India Company, whose accountable stewards we are, or we ought to be."

There is much in this which, after a lapse of twenty years, may be read with advantage by those whom it most nearly concerns. Mr. Tucker believed that, at this time, when the East India Company were about to be put upon their trial, they committed a grand

error in not concerting measures calculated to prove to the world that they had not been unprofitable stewards. I am afraid that this is a chronic ailment, and that years have not mitigated its severity. It must be regarded, indeed, as a species of slow suicide. Popular applause is an aliment necessary to the continued existence of all governments; and the government of the East India Company has been resolutely starving itself to death. A contempt of public opinion may be the growth of a consciousness of right; it may be very beautiful in theory, very magnanimous in principle; but practically, as the world goes, it is a fatal mistake. People are always willing to give us full credit for our vices; but they are slow to take our virtues for granted. An individual may choose for himself whether he will proclaim them. But if the East India Company, or any other governing body, believe that the continuance of their government is beneficial to the people who are subject to it, they have no right inertly to suffer it to lie under a cloud of misapprehension and disgrace.

Mr. Tucker complained that at this time the Court insisted upon playing a waiting-game; and was of opinion, that if they had bestirred themselves earlier they would have obtained better terms for themselves. It was his maxim throughout life never to put off to to-morrow what can possibly be done to-day. He never played a waiting-game. The Court of Directors, on the other hand, have always waited until it has been too late to retrieve the ground which they have lost at the outset. It

is the true policy in these cases to take the initiative. I believe that the position of the Company would be far better than it is, at the present time, if they had thought more of public opinion, and had been less inclined to *wait*.

But although, perhaps, the Court armed themselves too late to carry on the war to a triumphant issue, they gained some successes in the course of it. Against several of the propositions of the Crown Ministers, relating both to the local and the home Governments, they protested with consistency and vigor. And the result of the controversies between the two authorities was that several important points were conceded to the Company, and the draft of the Act for the future Government modified until it took shape more in accordance with the declared wishes of the Court.

In the contest for these changes Mr. Tucker took no undistinguished part. He was of opinion that the establishment of the fourth Presidency (of Agra) would strengthen and improve the administrative machinery, and he believed that if the Government were placed in the hands of an experienced Company's officer, like Sir Charles Metcalfe, there would be little need of the aid of a Council. But he did not think that, as a general rule, and under other circumstances, it would be expedient to dispense with the Councils of the minor Presidencies.* He was opposed to excessive centralisation. He did not think that it was desirable to vest the sole legislative power in the Supreme Council; and he was entirely

* See Minute dated July 2, 1833, quoted in *Memorials of Indian Government.*

of opinion that uniform legislation for the divers peoples of India was neither desirable nor practicable.* He did not recognise the expediency of enlarging, to the proposed extent, the Supreme Council of India, and he protested against the attempt to deprive the Court of Directors of the absolute and uncontrolled power to appoint all the ordinary members of Council.† And the representations of himself and his colleagues on these points were attended with a large amount of success. The minor Presidencies were not stripped of their Councils. The new Presidency of Agra became a Lieutenant-Governorship under an experienced Company's officer. The number of the Supreme Council was reduced; and the absolute right of appointing Councillors remained in the hands of the Court.

On the free admission of Europeans to all parts of India Mr. Tucker entertained very strong opinions. He believed that some restrictions were necessary to protect the natives of the country against outrage and oppression; and he used his utmost endeavors to resist a measure‡ which he believed to be laden with consequences injurious to the people of the soil. Against that part, too, of the proposed Act which decreed the abolition of Slavery throughout the Company's territories, he lifted up his voice, not because he did not hold slavery in as much abhorrence as the introducers of the clause themselves,

* See Minute dated July 2, 1833, quoted in *Memorials of Indian Government.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ See Letter to Mr. Blunt, *post*, pp. 470, 471.

but because, whilst he knew that the evil existed only in a very modified form in India, if indeed it were more than a name, he saw that much mischief might arise from the abolition of it, and much misery to the "slaves" themselves. And he succeeded in preventing all abrupt and violent interference; so that in the end there was an ample recognition of the principle of universal liberty, and a due promotion of the interests of humanity, without any of those attendant evils which legislative indiscretion might unknowingly have associated with them.

But that which above all things Mr. Tucker exerted himself most strenuously to secure was the independence and efficiency of the Court of Directors. He apprehended that, under the provisions of the new Act, the Court would be reduced to a mere shadow—a name, without substance and without power—a delusion, leading men astray from the truth, and obscuring the responsibility which ought to be patent to the world. One very important concession had been made to the Company. In the original plan of the Government it had been contemplated to reserve to the Crown Ministers a veto in the case of the recall of the Governor-General of India, or the minor Governors; but the Court had contended for the absolute right of recalling these functionaries, and had secured the power to themselves. This at all events had the effect of preventing the entire Government of India from falling into the hands of the President of the India Board and the Governor-General; but it still appeared that the

power of the former to over-ride the Court was too great, and as a check upon that authority they contended that the right of publicity—that is, of laying before Parliament their protests against the Board's measures—should be conceded to them. This, however, Government resisted. The Chairman and Deputy-Chairman protested against this resistance —Mr. George Smith and Mr. Tucker followed on the sam e side.Bu t their remonstrances were of no avail. The Chairs were resolute; the last two points for which they had contended were the extension of the Guarantee Fund and the right of publicity; and now, in August, 1833, they declared their unalterable conviction that, whilst the Proprietors were justly entitled to the former, the latter was "indispensable to the independence of the Court of Directors;" and on these grounds they refused to recommend the Ministerial Bill to their constituents. Mr. Tucker, however, argued on the other hand, that, defective as was the Bill, and insufficient as were the powers of the Court, it would still be beneficial to the interests of India that the Government should remain in the hands of the Company. "Upon the whole," he said, "after long and anxious reflection, I am compelled to say to our constituents (not with perfect confidence I own), accept the Bill with all its defects; and let us by our prudence and firmness remedy as far as we can the disadvantages of our situation; and by the faithful and zealous fulfilment of our duties, promote to the utmost the prosperity and happiness of the people."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Court of Directors and the Board of Control—Powers of the Board—Collisions between the two Authorities—The Case of William Palmer and Co.—Mr. Tucker's Dissent—The Writ of Mandamus—Conduct of the Court—The Case of the Lucknow Bankers—Firmness of the Court—Conduct of Mr. Tucker—The Mandamus stayed.

WHILST these negotiations for the renewal of the Company's Charter were evoking the energies and activities of the Court, other circumstances, of a more accidental but more exciting character, were keeping all these energies and activities on the stretch.

By the Act of Parliament under which India was governed, it was intended that, in respect of all matters relating to the internal administration of the country and our ordinary dealings with the Native States, the originating power should be primarily that of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. But that in questions relating to Peace and War, and our negotiations with Foreign Powers, the whole management should be entrusted to the President of the Board of Control, and a Secret Committee of the Company (consisting of the Chairman, the Deputy-Chairman, and the Senior

Member of the Court)—the President being, in fact, a Secretary of State for Indian affairs, and the members of the Secret Committee performing the functions only, as Mr. Tucker happily expressed it, of "a Secretary or a Seal."

Over the solution of these questions of Peace and War—questions into which European politics might sometimes largely enter—it was right, perhaps, that the Crown Minister should exercise undisputed control. It was assumed that he took counsel with his colleagues in the Cabinet, and that every important measure affecting our relations with Foreign States, or the extension of our Indian Empire, was undertaken with their cognisance and sanction, and after full inquiry and due deliberation. This may or may not in reality have been the case. An arrogant, self-sufficient President might scorn to consult his official chief; or, with strong personal prejudices and predilections, might seek the advice of one particular member of the Ministry to the exclusion of all the rest. But men neither saturated with prejudice nor case-hardened in egotism, were not incorrectly believed to express the views and to carry out the designs of their colleagues, when they entered upon great measures affecting the question of Peace or War with Foreign Powers. If such authority as this were not in the hands of the Crown Minister, or of some functionary in immediate connexion with the Cabinet, it is clear that the British Government might often be greatly perplexed and embarrassed by the prosecution of measures undertaken in India and, to

all outward appearance, of purely Indian significance, but still bearing upon our political relations with States beyond the Company's cognisance and control.

Taking this view of the case, it was impossible not to recognise the necessity of vesting the chief political authority in the representative of the Crown. Whether all the real power being thus in the hands of the President of the India Board, the responsibility should not more openly and intelligibly have attached to him—whether despatches emanating from this functionary should have been dated from the India House, and signed by the representatives of the Company—whether, in short, the institution of the Secret Committee should have been maintained, as a Fiction or a Fact, according to the character and the caprice of the Crown Minister,* was a question, and a very important one, which forcibly suggested itself to Mr. Tucker's mind, and which, perhaps, I shall be called upon to consider in another chapter. In the mean while it may be said that, whether for better or for worse, such was the constitution of the Government of India, and such the intent of the Act of Parliament under which it was carried on. But in respect of the other department of Government, of the general adminis-

* I say this, because a not over-confident Minister will consult his India-House colleagues and make use of their information, if he will not adopt their opinions. In this respect the utility of the Secret Committee is not to be questioned—but all depends upon the character of the man. And under any circumstances the measures are really those of the Crown Minister, whilst the outward responsibility is the Company's, in whose name they are undertaken.

tration of the internal affairs of our East Indian possessions, the intent of the Act was not so clear, the authority of the Board was not so definite. That there was any obscurity about the Act, or any doubts about the extent of the Board's powers, in the department of internal administration, would not be implied, in this place, if it were not that the records of the East India Company abundantly prove that the boundaries of the Board's authority, as understood at the India House, have been continually passed, and the Company's interpretation of the Act falsified by the practice of the controlling powers. Such, however, was the case. It was the complaint of the Company that the Board exceeded its legitimate authority, and often reduced the entire Court, in its general administrative capacity, to a fiction as entire as that represented by the Secret Committee. How this happened it is not difficult to show. The mode of procedure was this: A despatch to one of the local Governments, drafted by a ministerial officer in the India House, was laid, perhaps after private perusal and annotation by some of the members, before an assembled Court; and there discussed, revised—rejected or adopted. If adopted, it was forwarded in due course for the approval of the Board of Control. Then began the work of correction. Then, sometimes, began what has been called "the battle of the inks." The inexorable red-ink rode down the black, trampling under foot whole squadrons of paragraphs, and drawing itself up, in orderly array, with conquering

front, all a-down the margins. The massacre was often complete; it stopped not short of total extermination. And the luckless despatch then went back to the Court, without a trace, perhaps, of its original meaning left upon it—and yet it was to be adopted as theirs, to be signed with their names, and to be sent out for the guidance of their servants.

For such alterations as these the Board were under legal obligations to assign their reasons. But whether those reasons were good or bad the Court were compelled to be bound by them. They might endeavor, by respectful representations, to mollify the controlling power; and individually or collectively the Directors might protest; but if they refused to forward the despatch to India, a writ of *Mandamus* might be issued against them; and then, if they still continued recusant, there was no alternative but a prison.

It may be supposed that to such a length as this the antagonism of the two bodies did not often proceed; but it happened that in the years 1832 and 1833, there were two memorable conflicts of which History has taken account, and concerning which, inasmuch as Mr. Tucker's name is conspicuous in the recorded proceedings of both affrays, this narrative must not be silent.

The first of these is known as the Hyderabad case—the case of the claims of William Palmer and Co., on account of certain sums alleged to be due to their House by the ostensible Prime Minister of the Nizam. To give a detailed account of a transaction

which is illustrated by a correspondence extending over several folio volumes, is impossible in such a work as this—and if it were possible it would not be desirable. It is enough that certain English gentlemen established a House of business in the independent state of Hyderabad, in the Deccan, and became money-lenders on a gigantic scale. The ruler of Hyderabad, known as the Nizam, was a puppet in the hands of his Ministers. The most influential of these, one Chundoo Lall, to whom the financial management of the country was entrusted, and who was rightly described as "a creature of British power," sought a refuge from embarrassments which the prudent management of the resources of the kingdom might have averted, in pecuniary dealings with the English firm; and thus plunged the State into a sea of difficulty, compared with which the troubled waters from which he had sought extrication were smooth and shallow in the extreme. Not that it was now the Minister who paid the penalty of these usurious loans. He was a powerful but irresponsible go-between. Chundoo Lall and Palmer and Co. both basked in the sunshine of the British Residency. There was no one but the British Resident to restrain them from sacrificing the unhappy country. And he did not inquire too nicely into the transactions which were enriching the few and so cruelly oppressing the many. So it happened in time that Palmer and Co. became masters of a large portion of the revenues of the State—indeed, were in a fair way ere long to sweep the whole into their net.

But a new Resident appeared on the scene—and that new Resident was, perhaps, the ablest and honestest man that ever won for himself a coronet, without bloodshed and without intrigue. Sir Charles Metcalfe went to Hyderabad. The great iniquity stared him in the face. The reign of the English money-lenders was at an end. Already, the Court of Directors had sent instructions to India to close the transactions with Palmer and Co., which were engulfing the resources of the country; and now Metcalfe instituted searching inquiries into all the circumstances of the Nizam's liabilities, and made a painful, but most necessary exposure. The result was a great expenditure of reputation; and the payment, on behalf of the Nizam, by the Bengal Government, of upwards of seventy-eight lakhs of rupees, in liquidation of the claims of the English usurers. Soon after this the House of William Palmer and Co. was Bankrupt.

But Bankruptcy in India means nothing. It is often a renewal of strength—a revival of activity. "William Palmer and Co." were soon endeavoring to re-establish their influence at Hyderabad; and were preferring large claims, principally on the score of balance of Interest, against the Chief Minister of the unfortunate Nizam. Into the Debtor and Creditor account I cannot of course afford to enter. But the Court of Directors were thoroughly impressed with the conviction that Palmer and Co. were not justly entitled to sixpence more than they had received, and that any interference on the part of the British-Indian Government to obtain pay-

ment from the Nizam would be entirely unjustified by the circumstances of the case, and contrary to the faith of treaties.

The subject attracted a vast deal of attention at home. An immense mass of official papers struggled into type. Pamphlets of all sorts and sizes were poured out upon the public. The Court of Proprietors woke from their wonted apathy, and a debate of six days' duration was distinguished by more eloquence and more excitement than the India House had witnessed for years. Everything that could be said to justify the proceedings of the House of Usury was said—but in vain. The Court of Directors were convinced; the Court of Proprietors were convinced; the Public were convinced. An irreversible verdict was pronounced. And the most charitable were the most eager not to revive so painful a discussion.

And so little was said about it for some time. But the members of the Bankrupt House were busying themselves in the collection of what they called their debts; and again, after a period of quiescence, the attention of the Court of Directors was called by the local Government to these old transactions, and again they were invited to interfere for the settlement of the long-disputed claims upon the Nizam. In 1828, the Court had permitted Sir William Rumbold, one of the partners in the House, to proceed to India, for the purpose of assisting the Trustees of Wm. Palmer and Co. to recover sums due to them by individuals, with the

express stipulation that neither the House, nor any member of the House, should "be suffered to continue or renew pecuniary dealings, under any pretence whatever, with the Nizam's Government;" but the Indian Government had somewhat relaxed these restrictions, and contented themselves with Sir William Rumbold's guarantee that he individually would not interfere with the affairs of the Nizam. For this departure from their instructions the Court censured the local Government, observing that they should thenceforth expect a "stricter observance of their former instructions, which they saw no reason either to extend or to vary." But the Board of Control had expunged these condemnatory paragraphs; and in remorseless red-ink had substituted others, conveying altogether a different meaning. The Board, in fact, found a justification for what the Court declared unjustifiable; and instructed the Indian Government to inform Sir William Rumbold, that although the Court considered "every claim of the House of Palmer and Co. on the Nizam's Government, which was in any way sanctioned by the British authorities, to have been more than satisfied, they no longer restrained him from proposing to the Nizam's Government, in such manner as he might think fit, any legal claims of that House which he might conceive to be still unliquidated." And furthermore, the Board wrote: "The Resident will intimate to the Nizam's Government that you (the Indian Government) would hear with satisfaction

that the House had recovered their just claims from their private debtors; and he will advise the Nizam's Government to adopt those measures which may facilitate to that firm such recovery of their just debts, by process of law in the ordinary Courts of Justice in the country."*

Against such a wholesale alteration of the meaning of their despatch, the Court of Directors loudly remonstrated. They had been made to deviate from a course of policy which for some time they had consistently pursued; and had been committed to future proceedings which they could not conscientiously adopt. "The policy about to be subverted," they wrote through their Secretary, "has been steadily maintained by the Court of Directors throughout a period of ten years. It has been sanctioned by four successive Boards of Commissioners. It has been publicly canvassed by a Court of Proprietors, and approved after six days of discussion, which excited more public interest than any Indian question has done for many years; and it has been acted upon by four successive Governments in India, not in the mere spirit of official obedience, but with active and cordial co-operation." And after pointing out the serious nature of the evils likely to result from the adoption of the Board's corrections, the Court expressed their full expectation that the Board would revoke the alterations made in the draft. "Should the Court be disappointed in this expectation," they added, "they will still have performed their duty consistently and

* July 23, 1830.

conscientiously, and the responsibility for the results will rest undividedly on the Board."

The remonstrance was not without effect. The despatch, as altered by the Board, was not sent out to India. The question, indeed, was shelved for a time; and not until the beginning of 1832 was the discussion again revived. Then the Board wrote to the Court, intimating that in consequence of intelligence received from India, relative to the affairs of Palmer and Co., it would be advisable that the Court should prepare a new Draft in lieu of that to which objections had been raised, "alluding to all the unanswered communications of the local Government respecting the affairs of Messrs. William Palmer and Co." "When this is done," added the India-Board Secretary, "the Board will be prepared to give a definite opinion upon the whole of the correspondence now under consideration."

Accordingly, a new despatch was drafted—reviewing the past measures of the local Government, and offering instructions for their future guidance. That Government had endeavored to bring the question between the House and the Nizam to an issue, through the agency of a Punchayet, or native Court of Arbitration. But the effort had failed. There had been no satisfactory basis whereon to arrange the terms of arbitration; and no sufficient guarantee that the award of the Arbitrators would be rendered binding upon the parties to the suit. The Court now suggested that these desiderata should be supplied, and proceeded to argue upon the abstract merits of

the case, with a view to its adjustment according to the soundest principles of justice. Large sums had been claimed on account of accumulations of interest, and the Court justly observed that "an indispensable preliminary to all ulterior proceedings would be to consider and determine what principle of limitation it would be proper to apply."* But the great objection to this was, that there was any allusion to ulterior proceedings at all. It opened out the whole case anew when it was desirable to close it, and was in effect a retractation of the former judgments of the Court.

The draft was carried through the Court on the 20th of March, but not without opposition. On the 22nd, Mr. Raikes gave in a dissent. On the 28th, Mr. Tucker and Colonel Baillie did the same; and on the 4th of April, Mr. Wigram declared his opinions emphatically against the Court's resolution. Mr. Raikes pointed out the tendency of the despatch to restore the influence of Palmer and Co. at the Court of the Nizam, and therefore he protested against it. Mr. Wigram denounced it as an attempt to force British interference unjustly upon a native Prince, and stigmatised such interference as "unsound and pernicious in principle, as derogatory

* The reasonings of the Court on this subject appear to be conclusive as far as they go. "The high interest common under the native Governments is, in great part, the consideration for insecurity. . . . . The principal part of that high interest, under such Governments, is in the nature of an insurance upon a risk. But if the influence of the British Government is to be employed in such a manner as to ensure payment and thereby to take away the risk, it will deserve to be considered how much, if anything, of that which may be regarded as the consideration for risk in the nominal rate of interest, it will be equitable to allow."

to the character of the British Government in the estimation of the natives of India, as inconsistent with the past practice of the Court, and as calculated to introduce a most destructive precedent." And Mr. Tucker recorded the following Dissent, in which Colonel Baillie concurred:

"DISSENT BY H. ST.G. TUCKER, ESQ.

"I am compelled to dissent from the letter to the Government of Bengal on the affairs of Hyderabad, which passed the Court on Tuesday last. Not because this letter appears to me to be very defective as a composition, nor because it puts forth inconclusive arguments upon unsound or questionable premises, but because it does not, in my judgment, advance us one single step towards the end which the Court have in view.

"The Supreme Government call for more specific instructions; and we give them none. They are in a state of perplexity; and we do nothing to put an end to their embarrassment. The Governor-General, upon his own responsibility, and in opposition to the advice of his Council, removes the Resident, Mr. Martin; and we say not a word on the subject, although this extraordinary exercise of power cannot fail, I think, to have a powerful influence on public affairs at Hyderabad.

"The whole tenor of the Court's despatch would seem to contemplate the establishment of some *basis*, on which an equitable adjustment of the claims of W. Palmer and Co. on the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk and others may be effected; and yet I cannot discover that any such basis has been decided upon, or that any approach to it has been made.

"The Court observe that risk enters as an element into interest, and that high interest includes a premium of insurance; but this proposition is qualified by a subsequent remark that *ex post facto* (as it may be termed) security, obtained by means of the interposition or influence of our Government, must be admitted as a set-off against the original

risk; and again, this qualification is considered to be liable to modification by reason of the 'pain and anxiety' which may have been endured intermediately between the period when the sense of risk commenced, and the period when the sense of safety supervened.

"These distinctions are, no doubt, highly intellectual and refined; but they do not lead to any practical purpose of business. To my simple understanding, the considerations which regulate and determine the rates of interest are sufficiently plain. They comprehend:

"1st. The productive powers of money at the time and place.

"2ndly. The relation subsisting between the demand for money for political or commercial purposes, and the means of supply at the time and place.

"3rdly. The intelligence, skill, and credit of the parties treating.

"Lastly. The degree of risk and uncertainty incidental to the ultimate recovery of the money lent.

"But what shall we gain by subtle disquisitions upon abstract propositions? Is it useful—is it fit and becoming in a Government to pursue a serpentine course of reasoning, whose involutions are scarcely traceable by a common mind, when, after all, we end just at the point from which we set out?

"The questions arising out of the case before us appear to me to be simply these:

"1st. Did any fair and legal contract exist between the late firm of W. Palmer and Co. and the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk and others?

"2nd. Has the contract been violated by either party?

"3rd. Is the British Government called upon to interpose its authority, or influence, for the purpose of enforcing the fulfilment of that contract?

"Now, what are the facts of the case? Sir Charles Metcalfe asserts that six or seven years ago it was acknowledged by the parties themselves that the loan to the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk *had been actually redeemed with more than twelve per*

*cent. interest per annum.** The Newaub had made over his extensive Jagheers to the House—they managed his estates, collected his rents, and realised large sums of money. With such a security in hand, and with the means of paying themselves more than twelve per cent. interest on their loan, what can have been the value and amount of that '*pain and anxiety*' for which compensation is to be sought in a high rate of interest?

"And upon what grounds can the British Government be called upon to interpose its authority or influence for the purpose of enforcing against a native nobleman of high rank, not subject to our Government or laws, a demand for interest exceeding twelve per cent. per annum?

"Did we sanction the usurious loans contracted by the late Newaub of the Carnatic? Did we assist his creditors further than to guarantee payment of the principal of their just claims with a very moderate rate of interest?

"But it may be said that we gave publicity to the opinions of three of the greatest lawyers of this country; and that these opinions were found afterwards not to be sound law; or rather, that the twelve judges of England, by a bare negative, gave a different exposition of the law with relation to the supposed limitation of interest on loans made and contracted within the territory of a 'native independent sovereign of India.'

"Admitting, then, what, however, I am not at all disposed to admit, that the promulgation of a legal opinion of high authority upon a special case, although subsequently impeached by the answer of the twelve judges to a *general* question (without, I understand, any argument by Counsel), may have had, for a time, a prejudicial effect upon the affairs of W. Palmer and Co.; admitting that the English law opposes no bar to the enforcement of a rate of interest, however extortionate (say, cent. per cent., instead of twenty-five per cent.), within the territory of a '*native independent sovereign*,' and that Hyderabad was such a State; admitting, too, that a debt or

* I quote from memory, as the papers had been sent to the Board before I had an opportunity to refer to them.—H. St.G. T.

demand, *composed of interest,* will carry with it further interest, without any limit whatever, in opposition to an opinion which I have seen from one of the first Chancery lawyers in this country; admitting, again, that the Mahomedan law, which does not recognise interest (on what it terms increase or accumulation), may be dispensed with or evaded, under usage or otherwise, and that interest can be legally enforced against the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk, himself a Mahomedan; admitting all these things,—what have we done, either to determine the rate of interest which it would be just and proper to allow, or to constitute the tribunal which shall decide upon the general merits of the case—that is, upon the facts connected with the original loan or contract—the rate of interest stipulated for—the value actually received by the borrower—and the value subsequently realised by the lender.

"We have, it is true, pointed at something like a *mean* between the rate of interest claimed (twenty-five per cent. per annum) and the rates of interest which Saoucars (or native bankers) are accustomed to charge and allow, in their transactions with each other; but as the latter is an unknown and a varying quantity, I do not perceive how we are to arrive at this golden mean; nor is it likely that it would satisfy either party, even if it were practicable to arrive at it. In point of fact, the native bankers, I have reason to believe, accommodate each other at a very low rate of interest. They know each other's situation in general; and by mutual accommodation, they can economise their respective balances; that is, they are enabled severally to retain a much smaller sum than would otherwise be necessary to meet unexpected demands. Such arrangements are well understood in this country, and not less so by the native bankers of India, a most intelligent race of men.

"Placing, as I do, this imaginary *mean* out of the question, the next proposition which the Court's letter appears to me to embrace, is, the resort to arbitration. But who are to be the arbitrators? and who is to enforce their decision? Has not an ineffectual attempt been made already to induce the parties to have recourse to arbitration? I discard the term "*pun-*

chayet," which is a Hindoo institution, for this term is but too often used and misapplied. Have not the two parties taken opposite grounds with respect to the question of interest? and can any hope be reasonably entertained that they will now consent to a *basis*, or that they will ever appoint arbitrators, who may not be their respective tools and representatives? And if they should consent to nominate such arbitrators, will these tools or representatives ever be brought to agree upon the selection of an umpire? In my opinion, they never will; and I say further, that no prudent, upright, independent man is likely to be found to undertake voluntarily an office, which may expose him to the machinations and intrigues of those who never will remain quiet under an adverse decision, however honest, pure, and unimpeachable that decision may be.

"With these difficulties before our eyes, is it fair, is it candid, is it just to the creditors of Wm. Palmer and Co., or to the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk and others, to leave the Supreme Government in a state of doubt and perplexity? Is it not injurious to the public service, and to the character of our Government, to go on *for years*, casting this question backwards and forwards between England and India, without pronouncing any definite judgment, and without conveying any intelligible instructions to the Government abroad?

"In my opinion, there are only two courses which we have to choose between—either to withdraw from all interference whatever, and to allow the trustees of Wm. Palmer and Co. to prosecute their claims against Moneer-ool-Moolk and others, before such tribunal as the 'independent sovereign' of Hyderabad (and if he be not an 'independent sovereign' the answer of the twelve judges does not apply) may have provided for the administration of public justice within his territories, or which his Highness (who is not understood to be a mere cypher like his immediate predecessor) may, at our suggestion, or by means of the representations of the parties, be induced to appoint; or secondly—To constitute and appoint a Special Commission, under the authority of the British Government, to be composed (say, for instance) of a member of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, with the Càzi ool Cozaat and a

Mufti of that Court, as assessors, with full powers to examine into the whole case, including the original contract and claim of debt, with all subsequent proceedings connected with its liquidation; and to adjudicate finally on every point of dispute between the parties, upon such grounds as law, usage, and the general principles of justice may furnish for an equitable adjustment.

"I have abstained as much as possible from any allusion to the nature and character of the transactions of W. Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad; as it is, I think, for the honor of the British name in India, that as little should be said on the subject as possible. These transactions cannot be consigned to oblivion, because the writings of Sir Charles Metcalfe, an officer alike distinguished for great talents, high honor, great zeal, and above all, for that moral courage which gives the seal and impress to the other virtues of a public man—his writings, I repeat, and the able speech delivered in this house by the late Mr. Impey (one of the most convincing arguments which I ever heard in any public assembly), have cast a broad light over those transactions, which nothing but time can ever extinguish. What I wish is, that this subject should not be kept alive by our indecision. Every consideration of justice and policy should impel us to bring the questions at issue to an early and final settlement—regard for the situation of the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk—consideration for the creditors of W. Palmer and Co.—and respect for the reputation of our own Government, all alike demand from us a prompt, clear, and unequivocal expression of our sentiments. It is because the letter of the Court appears to me to be deficient in all these particulars, that I record the present dissent, considering, as I do, that letter to be altogether unsuitable to the occasion, and not at all becoming that high authority from which it proceeds; and which (whatever may be the term of its existence) I am anxious to see maintain always a high and undisputed place in public estimation.*

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"24th March, 1832."

* This admirable dissent was published among the Proceedings connected with the Writ of Mandamus published in 1833.

The draft despatch so assailed at the outset was sent in for the approval of the Board. The Board absolutely annihilated it with their exterminating Red Ink. It had originally consisted of thirty-seven paragraphs. Of these the Board scored out all but four, three of which contained only a preliminary recital of facts, and the fourth a mere general proposition. For the paragraphs so expunged the Board substituted ten of their own. In this amended despatch the Court were made to declare their conviction that "the joint interposition of our Government and that of the Nizam will be requisite to bring the matter in dispute to a final settlement." The nature of the proposed interposition was then declared. The Nizam was to be suffered to take his choice between an ordinary plan of arbitration (the umpire to be nominated by the Governor-General) and the appointment of a Commission to be appointed by the Supreme Government; he was to be recommended by the Resident at Hyderabad to consent to one of these plans, and to make the decision final, whatever it might be. And the despatch concluded with an admission that the Court had unintentionally done an injustice to Palmer and Co. by not urging an earlier settlement of their claims.

This was too much for the Court. They could not bring themselves to sanction such an authoritative interference; and the admission at the close of the letter was intolerable to them. So they negatived the resolution for the adoption of the altered

despatch, and wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Board.

The Board consented to some slight alterations in the body of the draft, and expunged the obnoxious admission in the tail of it. But still the Court were not satisfied. Mr. Grant,* who then presided at the Board, had declared that it was far from his intention that there should be any authoritative interference on the part of the British Government. But, look at it as they might, the Court could not see in the despatch anything short of the recommendation of such authoritative interference. So they still declined to forward the despatch. Court-day after Court-day arrived; meeting after meeting was held. The whole question was discussed and re-discussed again, but still they could not overcome their reluctance to sign the obnoxious despatch. At length they came to a determination which does not appear to me to be distinguished by their wonted sagacity. They rescinded the Resolution of the 30th of March, and virtually cancelled both the Draft and its Amendments, declaring that they had no authority to meddle with the case at all. Now they were competent to rescind their own Resolutions, but not to cancel a despatch after it had been altered by the Board of Control.† And to declare their want of authority to meddle with a case with which they had been meddling for many years was simply to stultify themselves.

* The present Lord Glenelg.

† This, at least, is my own impression, strengthened by the decision of the Court of King's Bench—but the contrary was very ingeniously contended by Serjeant Spankie.

To this Resolution the Board of course demurred; and again there were new discussions in the Court. The difficulty seemed to thicken. There was no hope of a reconciliation. So at last the Court, after a controversy of eight months' duration, told the Board that they had nothing to do but to leave the Law to take its course. And accordingly, on the 24th of November, in the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney-General made a motion to call upon the East India Company to show cause why a writ of Mandamus should not be issued to compel them to transmit to India a certain despatch, finally amended and approved, by the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament 33rd George III.

The 21st of January—the first day of term—was fixed for the hearing of the case. It was argued at great length by Mr. Serjeant Spankie, Sir James Scarlett, and Mr. Wigram, on the side of the Company; by the Attorney and Solicitor-General and Mr. Amos on the side of the Crown. There was a vast display of legal ingenuity. The clauses of the Charter-Act, bearing upon the question at issue, were anatomised with an amount of skill that must have astonished the framers of it, whilst it perfectly bewildered the judges on the Bench. Eight days afterwards Mr. Justice Littledale delivered the judgment of the Court. The rule for the Mandamus was made absolute.

On the 13th of February the Mandamus was served on the members of the Court then present at

the India House. The opinion of Counsel was then sought by the Company as to whether an appeal to the King in Council would be attended with any advantageous results. The opinion recorded was that it would *not.* So on the 13th of March—a year wanting only a week from the date of the original draft—the Court met pursuant to notice given by the Chairman, to consider the expediency of signing the despatch as altered by the Board. The Court were divided on the question. There were men prepared to face the Mandamus and to abide the result, in defence of the Right. When, therefore, the resolution for the signing of the despatch was moved, the previous question was put, and the votes were found to be equal. According to the provisions of the Charter-Act it was, therefore, lost; and the original resolution was carried. That resolution ended with the words: "The Court feel that they have no alternative but to sign the despatch; but in doing so ministerially and by compulsion, they desire to record their most solemn protest against the orders which they are required to despatch."

On the next Court-day, a Protest signed by Messrs. Ravenshaw, Marjoribanks, Smith, Astell, Wigram, Baillie, Tucker, Masterman, Stuart, and Ellice, was delivered in and read to the Court. It was an able and a dignified remonstrance—closely argued, clearly written—carrying conviction with it at every stage. It set forth and it proved that the interference ordered by the Board of Control was—

Contrary to the faith of treaties.

Contrary to the policy of the East India Company.

Contrary to the established practice of the Court of Directors.

Contrary to the general practice of the former Governments of Bengal.

Contrary to the substantial justice of the case.

Contrary to the right use which should be made of the experience derived from the past transactions of the House.

All these points were conclusively established in the Protest; the nature of the transactions between Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's officers was examined; the accounts between them were analysed; the real character of the claim was exposed; and then the remonstrance thus concluded: "To put a stop at once and for ever to that real or supposed influence, so assumed and so abused by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., was once the object aimed at, not only by the Court of Directors and the Bengal Government, but also by the Board of Commissioners. To restore that influence to all its pernicious efficiency must be the result of the interference which the present Board of Commissioners would compel the Court to enjoin, and against which we hereby most earnestly protest. And we cannot too strongly deprecate, not only the use which the Board have made of their power on this occasion, but the possession by a Minister or Government Board (without appeal to another tribunal

on the merits of the case) of such power—a power to transfer money, to any extent, and on any pretence, from the possession of our allies or of their subjects, to that of ourselves, or of the subjects of the British Government."

This able and vigorous protest was subscribed by Mr. Tucker; but it did not contain all that he desired to express. He had recorded a Dissent from the original draft prepared by the Court, and now he desired to declare his conviction that the one was no better than the other, inasmuch as that neither tended to that peremptory closing of the whole question which he conceived to be demanded by all the past circumstances of the case. He, therefore, in conjunction with Colonel Baillie, who had signed his original dissent, placed upon record the following Addendum to the great Protest:

"FURTHER PROTEST BY HENRY ST.GEORGE TUCKER, ESQ., AND JOHN BAILLIE, ESQ.

"1. We have subscribed the foregoing protest, believing it to be substantially correct, and feeling it to be highly essential that those members of the Court who have taken so decided a part in resisting an arbitrary proceeding of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India should place on record a statement of those facts, and a review of those considerations, which influenced them in opposing the orders of the Board.

"2. But we wish, at the same time, to explain, that we by no means consider the letter substituted by the Board for the Political Despatch, No. 167, which passed the Court on the 20th March, to be of a more objectionable character than the original Draft. On the contrary, the Board's letter is much more intelligible, and of a more straightforward character, and it avoids that circuitous course of reasoning which, in our opinion, could lead to no useful result. Were we called upon

to decide between the two, we should sign the Board's letter in preference. We protested, however, against the Court's letter of the 20th of March, and we have felt it to be our duty also to oppose the Board's despatch, upon considerations varying somewhat in degree and in their general import, but sufficiently strong to make it impossible for us to adopt the Board's views.

"3. We cannot think it right to direct the Resident at Hyderabad 'to endeavor, by personal representations, to engage his Highness the Nizam, on the strong grounds of justice, to use his influence with Moneer-ool-Moolk, in order to induce him to concur in the proposed reference.'

"4. We cannot think it right to direct the Resident 'to urge on his Highness, in terms of strong recommendation, the justice of his resolving to enforce the final award.'

"5. Nor can we determine to express our conviction, when we have no such conviction, 'of our having been the instruments, however unintentionally, of arresting, by the promulgation of an erroneous opinion, the earlier liquidation of the debt.'

"6. We cannot concur in these things; for after reviewing the correspondence and minutes of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the representations of the late Resident, Mr. Martin, *the acknowledgment of the parties themselves*, and the figured statements which have been prepared in this House, we cannot satisfy ourselves that the House of William Palmer and Co. have any just claim of debt on the Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk, or that there are any grounds whatever for exerting the authority and influence of our Government to enable that firm to enforce any such claims.

"7. On the contrary, we are deeply impressed with the conviction, that such an exertion of authority on our part would be an act of gross injustice, tending to violate our engagements with a Native Power, to produce a most improper interference in its domestic administration, to expose the rights and property of its subjects to be dealt with in the most arbitrary manner, and finally to lower the character of the British Government, and to render our very name odious in the estimation of the people of India.

(Signed) "H. ST.G. TUCKER.
"J. BAILLIE."

The altered despatch was sent to India. The disputed claims were referred to arbitration. Mr. J. M. Macleod was appointed by the Governor-General to the office of Umpire; and it was decided that the heirs of the Minister Moneer-ool-Moolk should pay a further sum of ten lakhs of rupees to the estate of Palmer and Co., bearing interest at nine per cent. When this result was communicated to the Court of Directors, it was received without remark. But Mr. Tucker, with the practised eye of an Accountant, saw that there was injustice in the award, and he thus, on the 4th of May, 1836, recorded his dissent:

"I feel it to be my duty to record my dissent from the resolution of the Court to sign the following brief, and to me inexplicable paragraph, in the political despatch to India, No. 65, bearing date the 26th ultimo—viz.:

"'Paras. 1 to 16, reporting proceedings by which it appears that Mr. J. M. Macleod, the umpire selected by the Governor-General, has decided that the heirs of Moneer-ool-Moolk shall pay to Messrs. W. P. and Co. a further sum of ten lakhs of rupees, with interest at 9 per cent., until the same shall be discharged.'	2. "'No remark.'

"First. I dissent on the following grounds:—Because, without reference to the merits of the case, it appears to me unbecoming in this Court to pass over a question of great interest and importance in a way which must leave the Government abroad in doubt with respect to our real sentiments. Such a proceeding cannot fail, I think, to produce very unfavorable effects in India; and whether it be surmised that we are afraid to pronounce a judgment upon a delicate and difficult question, or that a want of union among us has led to a compromise, or that differences with the Board have rendered it impossible for the two authorities to concur in any one course of proceeding, the impression upon the public mind in India must be such as

I would most earnestly deprecate. The Government which dreads and avoids responsibility cannot command respect; and although cases of collision between the two authorities will sometimes occur, constituted as those authorities are at present, it is far better that our differences should be fairly and honestly maintained, than that we should be suspected of compromising a public principle in order to preserve an appearance of concord and good understanding. On the present occasion we are called upon to answer a despatch involving important questions. We have pronounced no opinion whatever—we have disposed of a subject which has engaged, and deeply engaged the attention of this Court for years past, by the simple words '*No remark;*' and I can scarcely picture to myself the astonishment of those who are now waiting to hear the final judgment of this high tribunal, when these words, '*No remark,*' proclaim our determination to let that which has been done pass without notice, whether it has been well done or otherwise.

"Secondly. I must contend that the award of the umpire exhibits upon the very face of it a palpable error; and although the members of this Court are not expected generally to be professional accountants, I will venture to say that there is no practical accountant who would not detect the error at the slightest glance.

"The following is the award in substance:

"'After mature deliberation, it appears to me that the best mode of determining the amount of the debt at the present time, is—first, to fix its amount at the time of the failure of the House, then to double the same, to deduct, *without interest*, the principal monies of payment since made on account of the debt, and to take the remainder to be the debt at this day.'

"Now, it is quite evident that the great principle on which accounts are framed is here lost sight of. To *double* the principal of the demand is to allow interest, and to allow it, indeed, to the utmost extent to which, by usage, it is claimable;* but 'to deduct, *without interest*, the principal monies of payment

* Without reference to Hindoo law, or our own regulations (Mahomedan law condemns usury or compensation for the use of money), I may observe, that the penalty inserted in a bond is double the amount of principal, so that the sum recoverable upon it for the interest is virtually limited.—H. St.G. T.

since made on account of the debt,' is to determine that one side of an account shall *not bear interest*, while it is fully allowed on the other. By this decision, the heir of the late Newaub Moneer-ool-Moolk is placed in the same situation as if he had only paid in the year 1835 monies which were actually paid in 1823-24. To show to what an erroneous result the process adopted by the umpire has led, it is only necessary to quote his own words, from paragraph 21 of his letter of the 10th March, 1835, containing the award:

"'On the other hand, were the account to be brought down to the month of August, 1829 (or to Mokurrum 1244 Hegry), the balance against him (the Newaub) would be reduced to about four lakhs; and were the account to be brought down to the present day, it would exhibit a balance of upwards of a lakh of rupees against the representatives of the House.'

"This is a simple and, I believe, a correct exposition of the case. As far as a judgment can be formed from very perplexed accounts, I am led to infer that the principal of the debt had been fully liquidated, and that the balance, if any, due by the Newaub could only have resulted from a difference of interest, to be determined in the usual manner by a regular interest account.

"Other questions present themselves in a review of the award and of the correspondence connected with it; but I have not the slightest wish to go beyond the plain duty of pointing out an obvious error, which, I am satisfied, was quite unintentional, but which, deeply affecting, as it must do, the interests of one of the parties, ought not to be passed over in silence.

"Nor have I the slightest desire to enter upon the original merits of a case which has been so often before the Court, and on which I have had occasion so often to deliver my sentiments. The facts connected with it have been so fully and so clearly exposed in the protest which was recorded by ten members of the Court on the 15th March, 1833, that anything which I could urge on the present occasion would probably only weaken the impression which that able document was calculated to produce.

"H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"4th May, 1836."

I have anticipated the sequence of time in the record of this Dissent; but I should feel more satisfaction in dismissing the case altogether, if I had not now to speak of another of kindred origin and character. The years 1832-33-34 were, for the Court of Directors, years of unusual excitement and activity. Apart from the disturbance of their tranquillity necessarily engendered by the unwelcome innovations of the new Charter-Act, they were years rendered memorable by the repeated collisions into which they were forced with the Board of Control.

I do not know how it happened, that during the Presidentship of a man so high-minded, so just, and so averse from strife, as Mr. Charles Grant, the Court should have been so often compelled to resist the efforts made by the Board to force them into acts of injustice. Perhaps it was that a sort of fatal good-nature—a disinclination to sift the claims of hungry applicants, and to disbelieve the specious representations which were made to him, induced him to side with claimants who had no title to his support; and that in his eagerness to be more than just to one party, he was sometimes less than just to another. But, whatever may have been the cause, during these years the Company were disturbed by being called upon in no less than four different cases to interfere for the settlement of claims advanced against certain native princes and chiefs.

Of the claims upon the Zemindar of Noozeed and the Rajah of Travancore I need not here make espe-

cial mention. I pass on to the more notorious case known as that of the "Lucknow Bankers." It bears a generic resemblance to the Hyderabad case; but its details are not quite so complicated. It was a case of a spendthrift monarch on one side, and a gang of hungry usurers on the other. Forty years before, some native bankers, named Mooneer Doss and Seetul Baboo, following the example of other money-lenders, European and native, fell upon the track of the profligate Nabob of Oude and lent him some money, upon bonds, at a rate of interest which implied either their belief in the badness of the security, or their resolution to defraud the borrower. It was the old story over again—a native prince wallowing in the deepest slough of sensual indulgence—spending on dancing-girls and buffoons—on wild-beast fights and pageants—all the treasure that he could extort from the people; then borrowing more from the usurers, who were ready with their money-bags to administer, for a consideration of thirty per cent., to the necessities of his unscrupulous lust. The borrower was reckless about the interest, for he knew that, if it were paid at all, it would be wrested from his unhappy people; and the lender, careless of the blood and tears which were to flow from the extortion, believed that as long as the country could yield a revenue, they who supplied the necessities of the prince would be sure to enrich themselves by the connexion. So these "Dosses"—as they were subsequently known in Parliamentary History—lent money at the close of the last cen-

tury to the Nabob-Vizier—Asoph-ood-dowlah—and thus a new contribution was made to the sufferings of the people.

But borrowing must have some limits, and even the possessors of rich Indian principalities must come to a stand at last; so the Nabob, being at length awakened to a real sense of his position by the British Resident, determined to compound with his creditors—that is, to pay them all something less than their exorbitant claims, which consisted for the most part of small advances, swollen into prodigious sums by a process of tumefaction well known to Oriental usurers. The composition, however, that was offered was not of an uniform character. It was determined that the European creditors should be repaid at one rate, the native creditors at another. It need not be said that the former was the higher. The arrangement took place. The creditors, for the most part, prudently took what they could get, which was, in most cases, more than they deserved. But the "Dosses," claiming to be British subjects, stickled for the European rate of composition, and were rewarded for their ambition by getting nothing at all.

Soon after the completion of this transaction, Asoph-ood-dowlah died. In his place, the English Government set up one Saadut Ali, who was not of a temper to part with sixpence, when he was not actually compelled. So the "Dosses" went on from year's end to year's end, clamoring for their money and not obtaining it—and employing the services of

an European Agent, who was as persevering in his pursuit of "Justice" as though he had been one of the principals. There was nothing which he did not try, from a bill in equity to a humble petition, to induce the East India Company to further his suit. But all his efforts were vain. The Court of Directors were resolute not to interfere. An appeal was made to Parliament; and Parliament got rid of the nuisance by appointing a Select Committee, which never reported on the case. This was in 1822. Ten years afterwards, the energy of the European Agent was as sleepless as ever; and he saw before him at last something like a prospect of obtaining the reward of his toil. The President of the Board of Control was inclining a favorable ear to the claims of Mr. Prendergast's friends.

In consequence of the representation of this indefatigable gentleman, Mr. Grant had undertaken to review all the circumstances of the case; and the result of the inquiry thus instituted was a conviction in his mind, that however sound the principle of non-interference in such cases might be, "the circumstances connected with the transactions on which their (the Bankers') claim is founded, give it so peculiar a character, that the Court and the Board would have been warranted in adopting a different course." This conviction he communicated to the Court, in a letter to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, dated April 12, 1832; and, as the result of it, declared his intention of making our interposition with the King of Oude "direct and formal"

—adding, "I propose, accordingly, that the Governor-General in Council should be directed to lose no time in addressing to the King of Oude a letter to that purport, and that his Lordship should be desired to instruct the Resident to take an early opportunity of delivering that letter to the King, and of verbally explaining to his Majesty the grounds on which the British Government have felt themselves constrained to press upon his serious attention a claim which ought to have been discharged thirty years ago, and which the Agents of the parties have not ceased to prosecute to the utmost extent of their power, both in India and in this country. The rate and amount of interest should, of course, be settled according to the law and usages of the country in which the debt was contracted. The mode and details of payment must be matters of negotiation between the King of Oude and the Supreme Government." And the memorable letter thus concluded: "Having thus explained briefly, because the merits of the case are well known to you and to the Court of Directors, the result of my investigation into the claim of the Calcutta Bankers, I have to request that you will be pleased to bring the matter under the consideration of the Court, and that you will move them to prepare the draft of a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, containing instructions of the tenor above stated. The despatch will, of course, require the sanction of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India."

This, as I have said, was dated the 12th of April, 1832. Only the day before, the Court had voted against the adoption of the obnoxious alterations in their despatch relative to the claims of Palmer and Co.; and now they were called upon to authorise an act of interference which they conceived to be still more impolitic and unjust. There seemed to be a run upon their patience and forbearance; and they were well disposed to declare themselves Insolvent. Where, indeed, was all this to end? There were other claimants on the King of Oude—other claimants upon other Native Princes; and if the claims of the Dosses were conceded, and measures taken to enforce their settlement, why should not the heirs and representatives of other claimants—English, Indian, and those who were neither English nor Indian, or both—be satisfied too, by an equally authoritative interposition in their behalf? The Board of Control was in a fair way, indeed, going on at this rate, to beggar half the Princes of India. Every claimant thought his own an exceptional case, and the Board seemed to be adopting wholesale the opinions of the claimants themselves. In sooth it was time to stop.

So the Court of Directors drew up a general remonstrance against these acts of interference. It was dated the 9th of May, 1832, and is a remarkably able State paper—luminous, forcible, and convincing. But it did not convince the Board of Control. It pointed out all the evils of interference—the impolicy, the injustice; the manifest incon-

sistency of such a course of procedure; the loss of character to Government; the inconvenience, the danger of opening the door to a rush of hungry claimants; the certainty either of being hurried into more concessions, or of raising louder clamors and stimulating greater discontent—but it was all argued in vain. The President of the Board of Control was not to be convinced. He had made up his mind that the Bankers who had waited for years for the spoil, should be now let in to gorge themselves to the full.

But as argument was of no avail—as the question could not be settled by an appeal to principles of reason and justice, the Court took the next best course. They did nothing. They were silent. They did not prepare the despatch. Seven months passed in silence. The Court had been ordered on the 14th of May to prepare the despatch. On the 15th of December it was not written; and they had given no sign of an intention to write it. So, on that day the Board forwarded to the India House a draft despatch of the President's own framing, with instructions to the Court to prepare one of like tendency, and transmit it to India. The Court did not obey the injunction. They resolved once more to try the effect of an appeal to reason; and after renewed consideration of the whole question, they wrote a long letter to the Board, which was signed on the 1st of March, 1833, setting forth, in detail, the causes of their unwillingness to obey the instructions of the controlling authority. This was

afterwards pronounced by Mr. Herries, in the House of Commons, to be the very ablest public document which had come under his observation for years.

Still the President of the India Board was not to be convinced. And still the Court of Directors were not to be driven into a course of conduct against which reason and conscience revolted. So there was again active strife between the two authorities—an irreconcileable difference which it seemed that nothing but an appeal to the law could finally adjust. But the Hyderabad battle had not yet been fought out; so the Oude contest but slowly proceeded to an issue. On the 29th of January the rule for a Mandamus was made absolute in the case of Palmer and Co.; on the 31st of that month the Attorney-General made a motion in the Court of King's Bench to call upon the Company to show cause why a Mandamus should not be issued, to compel them to sign a certain despatch relating to the creditors of the King of Oude.

Mr. Tucker was at this time Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company. He had felt strongly, and he had written strongly, regarding the impolicy and injustice of interposing authoritatively for the adjustment of the Hyderabad claims. And now, here, if possible, was a worse case—worse, inasmuch as the claim was one of much longer standing—a veteran, indeed, of some forty years. If there was one subject in connexion with the circumstances of our position in India on which Mr. Tucker felt

more strongly than on another, it was that of the treatment of the Native Princes and Chiefs of India by the British Government, as the paramount and controlling power. He was always thinking that it was "excellent to have a giant's strength," but "tyrannous to use it like a giant;" and he could not by any means see that these Native Princes were left upon the face of the earth only to be pillaged and plundered, to be trampled on and oppressed, according to the will of the English conqueror. He respected their fallen state, though he took account of their vices; and he could not by any means see how those vices were to be eradicated by sinking them into deeper degradation, and making their perplexities thicken around them. In the present case, he saw clearly both the injustice and the danger of the course which the Board had ordained. How, he asked, was such a payment to be enforced by anything short of physical coercion? Was the money to be extorted at the point of the bayonet? It was impossible to conceive a measure so laden with unrighteousness, and so pregnant with danger, as that which the Court of Directors were now imperatively called upon to adopt.

Mr. Tucker had made up his mind on the subject, and nothing, now, could shake his resolution. He was as inflexible as adamant in defence of the right. The law had no terrors for him. The Court of King's Bench might rule what it pleased; he was not to be driven from his allegiance. He could go to prison;

but he could not violate the principles which he had made the rule of his life; he could not be untrue to himself.

On the 5th of February, 1834, five days after the Mandamus had been moved for, Mr. Tucker addressed his colleagues in the following words. The trumpet gave no "uncertain sound." It was intended to "arm them for the battle:"

"TO THE HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

"HONORABLE SIRS,—A writ of Mandamus having been moved for in the King's Bench, to compel this Court to sign and forward to India the despatch which was sent to us for signature on the 15th December, 1832, relating to the claim of the Lucknow Bankers on the Government of Oude, I feel it to be my duty to declare that it is impossible for me to comply with the requisition of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India on this particular occasion.

"I am quite aware that I am called upon to act ministerially only, in signing the despatch of the Board; but there are cases where I cannot act even ministerially—there are obligations superior to that of yielding obedience to a Mandamus—and there are acts which the law itself cannot command—acts which cannot be performed without a violation of those principles on which all law is founded. The Legislature can, no doubt, invest a public functionary with large discretional powers; but these powers can never extend so far as to give a legal sanction to an act in itself illegal and criminal.

"The order which we are required to issue has for its object to enforce payment of a claim which has never been admitted or substantiated—which takes its origin some forty years ago—and which is understood to amount, with interest, to more than a million sterling. The claim must be enforced against one whom we recognise in the character of a sovereign prince, and whom we must lay prostrate and involve in ruin, if, dis-

regarding his remonstrances, we persist in compelling payment of this demand without a regular adjudication; since it is well known that it will be followed by other demands of the same kind to an enormous amount. Let it be remembered always that this is only one of many claims on the State of Oude, which we may be called upon, and which we have been called upon, to enforce; and I can perceive no ground whatever for separating it from the rest, or for exerting in favor of the claimants an authority, or influence, which we will not exert in any other case.

"If it be not intended to use force in the execution of the orders of the Board, they will remain inoperative—they will effect nothing; and they will be, indeed, worse than useless; for every means short of force were resorted to in 1816 for the purpose of inducing the Newaub to satisfy this particular claim. The next step must then be a resort to military execution, or the threat of military execution; and who is prepared to say what consequences may result from such a proceeding? One effect must certainly be produced—we must sink in the estimation of our allies and native subjects; for the act will be stamped in their minds with the character of injustice and oppression; and who is so ignorant as not to perceive that the loss of reputation must, in our peculiar situation in India, endanger the stability of our power?

"Far from wishing to carry on a hostile contest with the Board, my study has been, in the station which I have the honor to hold, to promote a good understanding between the two authorities—to conciliate confidence—and to smooth away difficulties, as far as this could be done without compromising the independence of the Court, or the interests of the public service. I have followed this course, both from inclination, and upon principle; for even when the two authorities concur and cordially co-operate, the work to be performed is of such magnitude as to be almost beyond our power of execution; while it is quite apparent that, if collision take place, if discord prevail, and habitual opposition be offered on either side, the machine of Government must absolutely stand still.

"But here let me render an act of simple justice. During

the brief period in which I have had the honor of assisting at personal conferences with the President of the Board, I have found that Minister as anxious as the Chairman and myself to promote harmony and to consult the interests of the service. Every question has been debated with fairness and candor, and the greatest solicitude has been shown to remove every cause of difference, and to allow the utmost weight and consideration to every proposition which our duty has led us to bring forward on the part of the Court.

"On this one point the difference has been extreme and irreconcileable, involving a principle which it was impossible for us to concede. We could not consent to be parties in overturning the deliberate decision of successive Courts and successive Boards. If the judgment of our predecessors is to be set aside after the lapse of a long period of years, without new facts being adduced, without the case assuming any new feature, what would be stable in our proceedings? what resolution would be permanent? what act would be final? During the long administration of Marquis Wellesley, when the case was more recent, and the facts more susceptible of proof, no step was taken by the Supreme Government to obtain an adjudication of the claim: his Lordship's subsequent advocacy of it was at a time when he had no official responsibility, and when he was not in a situation to pronounce a judgment. Lord Hastings, although evidently disposed to favor the claimants, limited his interference to importunate recommendations to the Newaub through the Resident at Lucknow, and admitted that the case was not one which 'the British Government was warranted in formally supporting.' But the whole question has been so fully canvassed in the Court's letter of the 1st March last, that it is quite unnecessary for me to enter upon any further examination of its merits.

"I am called upon, then, to make a decided stand; and I feel that it ought to be made at all hazards. Adjusted as are the powers between the two departments, what gives, or can give, weight and influence to the Court? The knowledge, experience, and political integrity of its members. Take away

these, and the Board becomes supreme. The Court, by manifesting, on great occasions, firm resolution and a high spirit of independence, will raise its own character, and inspire confidence and respect. Our servants, who have not always shown a becoming deference to our authority and station, will learn to obey a power which is prepared calmly to resist that which it believes to be wrong, and steadily to enforce that which it feels to be right; and acting thus, our constituents, and the British public, and the people of India, will be satisfied that the Court of Directors is, what it ought to be, an efficient organ of administration, to whom the interests of a great empire may safely be confided.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,
"Your very obedient, faithful servant,
"H. St.G. Tucker.

"5th February, 1834."

It was not without pain that he wrote this noble remonstrance. There were many fine qualities in Charles Grant which no man better appreciated than Henry St.George Tucker. There were some points upon which they differed; but there were many more on which their opinions were identical, and an abstract love of justice was paramount in the characters of both men. I believe that both as Indian and Colonial Minister the conduct of Charles Grant was regulated by the highest principles of justice; but that he sometimes missed the right application of these principles, and in the plenitude of his kindness did the unkindest things. In the great contest of which I am now writing, it is my conviction that Mr. Grant and Mr. Tucker each believed that justice was upon his side. But Mr. Tucker had knowledge as well as faith. He—and not only he, but many of

his colleagues—brought to the investigation of this question much local knowledge and experience—a deep insight into native character in general, and an intimate acquaintance, in particular, with the profligate helplessness of Oriental princes, and the almost fathomless cunning of Oriental usurers. Mr. Grant, on the other hand, did not, perhaps, reflect that what was justice in the West might not be justice in the East; and that the arbitrement suited to one country might be lamentably unsuited to another. Had his father then been at his elbow he would have followed a different course.

All this was manifest to Mr. Tucker. He greatly esteemed the virtues of the man; and, therefore, the more bitterly deplored the errors of the minister. He often, indeed, at this time, expressed his regret that the contest of public principle was with a man whom personally he so much respected; and in one of his speeches at the India House, quoted with admirable felicity, and with deep feeling, the touching words of the poet:

> "*Je t'aimais inconstant—qu'aurais-je fait fidèle ?*"

In his resistance to the arbitrary measures of the Board, Mr. Tucker did not stand alone. On the 15th of January a resolution had passed the Court, without a dissentient voice, declaring that as the proposed interference with the King of Oude was unjust, inconsistent, and mischievous, the Court could "not consent, even ministerially, to act upon the orders of the Board until compelled by Law to

do so." It was in consequence of this resolution that the Mandamus had been moved for—and now it became the duty of every Director to consider how he should face it. The resolution had only compelled them not to sign the despatch except under compulsion of a Mandamus. But there were members of the Court, who, like the Deputy-Chairman, were resolute not to affix their signatures, under *any* circumstances, to the obnoxious despatch. On the 5th of February — the date which Mr. Tucker's letter bears—six members of the Court, Messrs. Astell, Marjoribanks, Wigram, Russell Ellice, Mills, and Thornhill, placed their opinions on record in the following brief but emphatic communication which they addressed to their colleagues:

"Adverting to the proceedings which have already taken place relative to the claims of the Lucknow Bankers, we feel it to be our duty to place upon the records of the Court the expression of our determination not to affix our signatures, under any circumstances, to the despatch proposed by the Board of Commissioners; because we are impressed with the deepest conviction that any attempt to enforce such claims by the direct interference of the British Government, would be nothing short of an act of spoliation towards an ancient and prostrate ally, that it would compromise the British character, and lead to consequences most detrimental to the continuance of our rule in India."

But there were other members of the Court who took different views of their obligations as Directors of the Company. One approved of the despatch, and declared himself desirous of annexing his sig-

nature to it.* The Chairman recommended that the Court "should use every legal means in their power to prevent the transmission of this most objectionable despatch; but that after having done so, they should obey the law, and by that example inculcate in others the important duty of obedience to their legal orders." Several members of the Court subscribed this letter. The document is an important one, for it contains an argumentative exposition of the grounds upon which an influential section of the Directors based their belief in the impropriety of resisting the operation of the Law. Among other points, it was contended that no responsibility attached to the Directors for acts done in obedience to the authority of the Board, when exercised in opposition to the protests of the Court. "Sooner," said the Chairman, "than be responsible for this draft, I would resign my seat —but no such responsibility exists. If I sign it, I do so ministerially, and because the law compels me; and surely every Director knows that he is required in some cases to do what the Secret Committee is always required to do; to act merely ministerially in communicating to the Indian Governments orders and instructions for which the Board are exclusively responsible."

In this letter there is much that has a gloss of reason upon it; but it would seem that the latent

* Mr. John Forbes. He had been absent from the Court when the resolution of the 15th of January was passed—or it would not have been carried unanimously.

weakness of the argument peeps out from the above sentence. A member of the Secret Committee signs ministerially a despatch emanating from the Board of Control, of the contents of which despatch he does not approve, because he knows that it is the intent of the Legislature that in this department of the Government the Crown Minister should be absolute. The case of the Secret Committee is a special and exceptional case. But it was not the intent of the Legislature, in framing the Act under which India is governed, that in matters of general administration, not bearing upon questions with which the Crown Ministers, directly or indirectly, have any concern, the President of the Board of Control should dictate to the Court of Directors, and force upon them measures utterly abhorrent to their ideas of reason and justice. There may have been certain ambiguities in the letter of the law, under which the Board may have claimed this right to force *anything* upon a reluctant Court;* but it was assuredly not in harmony with the spirit of the law, that the former authority should initiate measures,

* It was argued, in the Hyderabad case, that the powers of the Board extended only to matters relating to the civil or military government of the Company or the finances thereof, and that such transactions did not come within those categories. This specification was intended to prohibit the interference of the Board with the Company's commercial affairs; but I can hardly believe that the Legislature ever intended to confer on the Board such powers as they claimed with regard to these Hyderabad and Oude cases, although the Charter-Act did give them authority to call upon the Court to transmit despatches, framed by the Board, after they (the Court) had been instructed and had neglected to prepare them for themselves. The letter of the law appears to me to have been on the side of the Board, but the spirit was with the Court.

of the expediency or inexpediency of which the latter must necessarily be better judges, and compel them, in the face of all their aggregate knowledge and experience, to attach their names to documents which they believe to be irrational and unjust.

It was rightly said by Serjeant Spankie, arguing in behalf of the Company in the Hyderabad case, that "nothing is so material as to distinguish who are the acting parties, and not to suffer them to be blended and confounded till all responsibility is lost between the parties who, to a certain degree concur, and to a certain degree revolt and hold back." "And so," he said, "I apprehend, in all cases in which the Board take upon themselves the initiative, the responsibility is with the Board, and that the Court of Directors should not be forced into an apparent responsibility." Mr. Loch, and the colleagues who voted with him, contended that there was no responsibility. If the President of the Board of Control could have signed the despatch himself, and merely compelled the Court to transmit it, their responsibility might have been merely that of a porter or a postman. But as it was necessary that the despatch should be adopted by the Court of Directors—that they should render it formally and officially their act by attaching their names to it—that their servants should be called upon, under their hands, to carry out the instructions it contained—there was at least "an apparent responsibility." The act became in India their act, whatever it may have been in England; and the natives

of the former country, who knew nothing of India-House Protests, or King's-Bench Mandamuses, would have regarded it as their act, and held them responsible for it. I do not think, therefore, that the responsibility was to be wholly escaped.

But it was admitted by Mr. Loch that circumstances might arise, to render it incumbent on a Director to resign his office rather than sign, even ministerially, a despatch forced upon him by the Board of Control. The real question at issue, therefore, between him and Mr. Tucker, related simply to the magnitude of the present occasion. Mr. Tucker conceived that now, if ever, the Directors should make a stand—that great principles were involved in the contest between the two authorities—and that a fitter occasion for asserting the independence of the Court was not likely to arise.

Mr. Loch thought that the occasion was sufficient to warrant him in going to certain lengths of resistance; Mr. Tucker determined that he would go *all* lengths. The Chairman said that he would sign the despatch only under the operation of a Mandamus. The Deputy-Chairman declared that he would not sign it, even if the Mandamus were issued. The question is surrounded with many difficulties. A phalanx of substantial arguments is arrayed on either side, and it would ill become me to attempt a dogmatic solution of it. It may, however, be observed, that rightly to estimate the magnitude of the occasion, and the degree of resistance which it became the Directors to offer, we must

consider not so much the single act of attempted coercion in the case of the Lucknow Bankers, as the aggregation of four different cases of the same kind which had been pressed, within a short time, upon the reluctant Court. It was, indeed, the cumulative tyranny and injustice of the Board that was to be resisted. All measures short of the actual defiance of a Mandamus had already been tried, and had failed. It seemed, therefore, to Mr. Tucker and to six of his colleagues, that it now became them to carry their resistance to the extreme point, and either to resign their appointments, or quietly to go to Prison.

And that they would have done so there is no doubt. Mr. Tucker was prepared for the consequences of resistance; and as the time approached for the issue of the Mandamus, talked cheerfully, but resolutely, of going to Prison. The Mandamus had been moved for on the last day of January; and the first day of term following had been fixed upon for the hearing of the case. Of the result of the motion there could be no doubt—but just as the contest had reached the culminating point of interest, it was brought suddenly to a close. The proceedings against the Court were stayed. For reasons, which either lie on the surface, or deep down in a gulf of mystery, the Mandamus was never obtained. The East India Company triumphed; and Mr. Tucker did not go to Prison.

CHAPTER XV.

The "Chairs"—Mr. Tucker elected Deputy-Chairman—Succession to the Chair—The Bombay Government—Appointment of Mr. Robert Grant—The Governor-General—Nomination of Sir Charles Metcalfe—Appointment of Lord Heytesbury—Its Revocation—Appointment of Lord Auckland—Mr. Tucker's Remonstrances—Speech at the King's Table.

On the 10th of October, 1833, Mr. Tucker was elected Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

According to the Law and Constitution of the East India Company, a Chairman and Deputy-Chairman are to be appointed every year on the first Wednesday after the General Election in April. The appointment rests with the Directors themselves. Sometimes the election is the result of a close contest; at others there is scarcely any competition. The Deputy-Chairman of the preceding year is always, by common consent, appointed Chairman for the ensuing one, except in those rare instances when, for peculiar reasons, the out-going Chairman is requested to retain his seat for another year. The election is in effect, therefore, only the election of a Deputy-Chairman. It may, however, happen that in the course of the official year, the

death, disqualification, or resignation of the Chairman or Deputy-Chairman necessitates the nomination of a successor before the appointed time. In 1833 both the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman resigned in the month of October, so that it became necessary to appoint two Directors to their vacant seats. Then Mr. Loch was elected Chairman, and Mr. Tucker Deputy-Chairman of the Court.

"I have never," wrote the latter to one of his colleagues a few days before his election, "sought the Chair, for reasons that are pretty well known to you and other friends; but I have never declined it. I could not decline that which has never been offered me. But I would not shrink from the performance of any public duty which might be imposed upon me. I never have, it is true, solicited the suffrages of my colleagues; nor will I ever solicit them. I disapprove of the practice of canvassing for the Chair; and I never will place any colleague in the unpleasant—I may say the painful—situation in which I have myself been placed by a personal application, when my wish was to oblige, and my duty told me that I ought not to assent. Much as I esteem our colleague ——, I cannot support his nomination. I consider it indispensable that one of the Chairs should be occupied at the present moment by an Indian, and if the youngest Indian in the Court should be brought forward, he will have my preference on public grounds. . . . . . . If any members of the Court should think proper to propose me, and the Court should be pleased

in consequence to command my services, their commands will be obeyed; and those services will be diligently and zealously exerted; but I will not solicit the honor." And then, adverting to what had been remarked on the subject out of doors, he continued: "Indeed, I have been strangely placed; for I have actually been reproached out of Court for want of zeal and public spirit in not undertaking an office which has never been offered me, and which has not in reality been within my reach, at least not without my having recourse to a proceeding which would not at all accord with my notions of right and expediency."

Such were the opinions which Mr. Tucker entertained all his life, and in accordance with which, at the close of 1833, he accepted the invitation of his colleagues, and was elected to fill the Deputy-Chair. The period was one which seemed, upon public grounds, to render the appointment extremely advisable. The commercial affairs of the Company were now to be wound up; and it was expedient that the most prominent positions in the Court should be held by men possessing a thorough practical acquaintance, both as merchants and administrators, with all the details of the system under which the old monopoly had been worked, and with a comprehensive knowledge of the large financial operations rendered necessary by the abandonment of the Trade. In the month of April, 1834, Mr. Tucker succeeded, in due course, to the Chair. In the same month the old Charter under which India had

been governed for twenty years expired; and the "winding-up of the Company's commercial concerns" became one of the primary duties of the Court.

But there were other matters at this time to engage the thoughts and call forth the energies of Mr. Tucker. No greater responsibility attaches to the Chairmanship of the East India Company than that involved in the nomination of those high officers to whom the Government of the Indian Presidencies is entrusted. On the fit selection of these officers, who are appointed by the concurrent authority of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control,* the welfare of India in no small measure depends. There are few matters, indeed, in connexion with the whole question of Indian Government more important than this—few which it is more desirable to illustrate historically in such a manner as to show, by a recital of facts, how the responsibilities vested by law in the two authorities have been practically discharged.

In the early part of 1834, Lord Clare announced his intention of retiring from the Government of Bombay. Mr. Charles Grant was President of the Board of Control, when his brother, Mr. Robert Grant, presented himself as a candidate for the

* The selection is made, in the first instance, by the Chairman, generally in concert with the Deputy. There is then a conference with the President of the India Board, and if the authorities concur, the appointment is then formally proposed to the Court of Directors, and, when carried, confirmed by the Crown.

vacant government. It was the happy lot and the high distinction of the elder Charles Grant to live to see both his sons giving promise of future eminence. After a brilliant university career, Robert had applied himself with success to the study of the law; but had varied his legal pursuits by diverging into the more attractive fields of literature and statesmanship. During the discussions which introduced the Indian Charter-Act of 1813, he had written an elaborate work on the Government of the East India Company, and twenty years afterwards, when under a new Charter the Legislative Council of India had been established, he had been a candidate for that office which was eventually conferred on Mr. Macaulay. He was a man of eminent ability, and of the highest principles. For one not trained on the spot in the school of Indian politics he had a large acquaintance with Indian affairs. He had studied the great subject of Indian government both in the closet and the bureau—both as an author and a statesman—and he was eager to turn his knowledge to practical account. He had rendered good service to the Company at home; and there was reason to believe that he would render good service to them abroad. So when the Government of Bombay was about to be vacated in 1834, the Chairman of the East India Company did not hesitate to recommend Robert Grant for the office. "I anticipate only two objections," he wrote to Charles Grant; "the one, that lawyers do not often make the best statesmen; the other, that, connected

as your brother will be with the Board, the Court may not be able to exercise the same efficient control over his proceedings. The first objection, I think, applies only to those who from habit have bound down their minds to the technicalities of the profession. On the second, I may observe that the Court will never, I trust, find any difficulty in exerting all its legal powers."

With the full concurrence and approbation of the Crown Ministers, Mr. Robert Grant was appointed Governor of Bombay. But the selection, although sanctioned by the Court of Directors, did not give entire satisfaction to all the members of the Court. It was whispered that the independence of the Company had been compromised—that it was not the personal merit of one brother, but the official influence of the other, that had caused such an arrangement to be made for the future government of the Western Presidency—in short, that the Chairman had been guilty of truckling to the Board of Control. This was in effect, indeed, the charge which, subsequently in a more open manner, was brought against Mr. Tucker, and with so much authority too, that he conceived it to be incumbent upon him to rebut it. He therefore addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, in which, after alluding to "the peculiar and very unusual terms in which Mr. Grant's appointment had been animadverted upon," he proceeded to say:

". . . . I had hoped that my public character would have saved me from unjust imputations and injurious suspi-

cions, especially as it must, I think, be known to my colleagues that I have not the slightest connexion, political or personal, with his Majesty's Ministers.

"As the law prescribes that every appointment to the office of Governor in India 'shall be subject to the approbation of his Majesty,' I conferred with the President of the Board on the selection of a successor to Lord Clare. I did so according to what I believed to have been the established usage in such cases, and upon grounds of obvious convenience; for it is quite clear that without the concurrence of the advisers of the Crown, no such appointment could take effect. Indeed, cases might be cited where a nomination made by the Court, without the concurrence of the Minister, had been overruled.

"Having, then, ascertained that the appointment of Mr. Robert Grant would meet with the cordial approbation of the Cabinet, and seeing no grounds for giving a preference to the other candidates who aspired to the office (although unquestionably gentlemen of high pretensions), I determined to propose the appointment to the Court *upon my own responsibility*, and, I will say, upon an honest conviction that he was peculiarly qualified for the high and important trust. My guarantee was his character, his known talents, his acquired knowledge, his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India, and his general experience in public business. These, I thought, furnished a sure promise that his public services would not only be most useful to the Government, but that the powers of his mind would be beneficially exerted in favor of the people of India. In this anticipation I feel satisfied that I shall not be disappointed.

"I declare that these were the grounds on which I proposed the appointment of Mr. Robert Grant to the Government of Bombay. I have never compromised my own independence or that of the Court. I have never shown subserviency to any Minister; and in the new position in which the Court has been placed, it has been my anxious study to maintain its authority and to uphold its reputation. If I could compromise its independence or my own by any unworthy submission to the

President of the Board, I should be unfit for the high station which I have the honor to fill; and if I could suppose that I do not enjoy the full confidence to which I feel myself to be justly entitled, I would not hold that station for a single day. . . . ."

There were many independent men in the Court of Directors, but not one with a sturdier spirit of independence than Mr. Tucker—not one amongst them less likely to truckle to the Crown Ministers. Only a few months before, he had resolutely declared his determination to be carried off to Prison rather than to sign an unjust despatch; and he would have abided by the resolution. Well might he say that there was nothing in his public character, nothing in the antecedents of his life, to warrant even a suspicion of his descending to anything so foreign to the manliness of his nature. For my own part, indeed, I have a very strong conviction that Mr. Tucker would rather have turned the tread-mill or picked oakum all his life than so, in a great battle of principle, have compromised himself and the Court. At all events, it was his good fortune not to wait long for an opportunity of proving, by his conduct, the independence of his spirit, his loyalty to the Court, and his devotion to the interests of India. That honest statesman and sturdy reformer, Lord William Bentinck, had now held the chief seat in the Government of India for more than the wonted period of office, and his failing health had compelled him to solicit the appointment of a successor. His resignation was received

at the India House towards the close of the month of August. The nomination of a new Governor-General now devolved upon the Court of Directors. Mr. Tucker, with whom, as Chairman, the selection primarily rested, was not long in coming to a decision on this most important subject. He did not doubt that what India most wanted in that conjuncture was a statesman of ripe Indian experience, with a name like a household word in the mouths of the people.* He saw before him two such men, either one of whom might fitly represent the sovereign power in India, and preside over the administration of her affairs, to the benefit alike of the parent State and the dependent country. There was no need to draw upon the Peerage, or to resort to the Cabinet for a Governor-General, when Elphinstone and Metcalfe were yet in the ranks of living statesmen.

Between the claims of two such men it was difficult to decide. And Mr. Tucker did not wish to decide. He desired to leave the choice between them, to be exercised by the King's Ministers. It might, however, happen that there was no choice. Mountstuart Elphinstone was in England, in the placid enjoyment of a life of literary leisure, enhancing the tranquil pleasures of the Present, rather by a recurrence to the associations of an honorable Past, than by anticipations of a still more honorable Future. To him, therefore, Mr. Tucker at once

* It was especially desirable, at that time, when the new Act for the future Government of India was to be introduced, that there should be an experienced statesman at the head of affairs to give effect to its provisions.—See Letters to Mr. Grant in the following chapter.

addressed himself. "Government," he wrote, "may have other views; but I will not lend myself to any project which I cannot cordially concur in and justify. Others must move, if I am not allowed to do what I think right." He then asked Mr. Elphinstone if, in the event of the Court and the Board ratifying the choice of the Chairman, he "would be prepared to undertake the important trust."

The answer was in the negative. The brilliant offer could not tempt him. Elphinstone mistrusted his physical health. He had never been greedy of public honors. He knew how to resist all such popular allurements; and he gratefully declined to put out his hand for a prize, which the greatest soldiers have coveted, and the most successful statesmen have not refused.

One difficulty, therefore, was removed. Mr. Tucker now saw his way clearly before him. He took counsel with some of his colleagues, found as he expected that they approved of his choice, summoned a special Court for the following Wednesday, and then wrote to the President of the Board of Control that it was his intention to move the following resolutions for the confirmation of Sir Charles Metcalfe in the office of Governor-General, which he then provisionally held:

"That this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his Lordship's resignation of the office of Governor-General, their high sense of the distinguished

ability, energy, zeal, and integrity with which his Lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station.

"That, referring to the appointment which has been conferred by the Court, with the approbation of his Majesty, on Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, provisionally, to act as Governor-General of India, upon the death, resignation, or coming away of Lord William Bentinck; and adverting also to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose knowledge, experience, and talents, eminently qualify him to prosecute successfully the various important measures consequent on the new Charter-Act, this Court are of opinion that it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the office of Governor-General. And it is resolved accordingly, that the Chairs be authorised and instructed to communicate this opinion to his Majesty's Ministers, through the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India."*

Some causes of delay having interfered, the Resolutions given above were not carried through the Court before the 26th of September. They were then voted by an overwhelming majority. Outwardly they indicated only the desire of the Court that Sir Charles Metcalfe should continue to hold the provisional appointment, under which, on the departure of Lord William Bentinck, he was empowered to assume the title and discharge the duties of Governor-General; but they meant something more than this. When Mr. Tucker enclosed the

* In the following chapter another draft of these Resolutions, differing from the above, is given, at the end of a letter to Mr. Charles Grant. It will be seen that the copy in the text is an amendment and amplification of the original sketch.

first draft of them to the President of the India Board, he wrote to that gentleman, saying: "I have already conferred with many of my colleagues, and by far the greater number cordially incline to the arrangement, which I shall feel it my duty to propose to the Court, and to submit to you, for the consideration of his Majesty's Government. It is to confirm Sir Charles Metcalfe in the office of Governor-General of India."* And he subsequently explained that the Resolutions were framed in the hope and in the belief that his Majesty's Ministers, having once recognised the expediency of retaining Sir Charles Metcalfe in the Government, would soon consent to issue a new Commission, and render the provisional appointment a substantive one.

But the advisers of the Crown were not inclined to regard the matter in this light. They argued that a provisional appointment was one thing and a permanent appointment another; and they demurred to the permanent appointment of a man who had no other claims to preferment than his own individual fitness for the office to which it was proposed to appoint him. To nominate Sir Charles Metcalfe—a civil servant of the East India Company, who had spent all his life in India—was, according to their narrow views of political expediency, to throw away a great chance. It was to appoint a man of no

* The letter from which this passage is taken is given entire in the following chapter.

political connexions, who was neither to be promoted nor to be got rid of, for the immediate benefit of their party, to the highest office in the gift of the Crown. Whether in reality an appointment distinguished by an unusual amount of disinterestedness and public spirit, would not have strengthened the party more than the course which they determined to pursue, is a question of no very difficult solution; but the fable of the Dog and the Shadow is as applicable to political as to private life; and his Majesty's Ministers decreed that the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the Governor-Generalship should not be suffered to become a fact.

Arguments were not wanting in support of this decision. But it is a trick of our self-love to find a never-ending flow of argument in support of whatever consorts with our personal convenience. If knowledge and experience, and proved capacity, were to be recognised as the best claims to employment in the highest offices of the Indian Government, all the Indian patronage of the Crown would fall among the Elphinstones and the Metcalfes; and how then were Ministers to purchase aristocratic support, or to provide for impracticable colleagues? So, on receipt of an intimation from the Court of Directors that a Resolution had been passed in favor of the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Board of Control announced that the Company's nominee was considered ineligible to the station of Governor-General; and the grounds of objection were such as would have excluded the whole, both of

the civil and military services of India. It happened that some years before, Mr. Canning, who seldom said foolish things, but who was not altogether infallible, had pronounced an opinion hostile to the claims of the Company's servants; and now his authority was emphatically quoted, as though it had all the significance of Scripture. But the Court of Directors were not to be put down even by a dictum of Mr. Canning. If the question were to be settled by a reference to the recorded wisdom of this great statesman, they also might quote his words in favor of the claims of the Company's servants;* but they appealed to the authority of deeds rather than of words—they asked, with the old Roman, *Dicta an Facta pluris sint;* and resolutely stood by their first decree.

The independence of the Court and the welfare of the people of India could not have been in better hands than in those of Mr. Tucker. He took his stand resolutely upon the palpable reason and justice of the case, and was not inclined to bate a jot. When the letter of the Board announcing the refusal of the Crown Minister to ratify the choice of the Court was received by him, he drew up a remonstrance, in the shape of a letter to the President of the India Board, and on the 8th of October submitted it for the approval of his colleagues. It

* Mr. Canning had said in 1813 that the system could not be a bad one, which had produced all the able and distinguished Company's servants who had then recently given their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, and at a later period had spoken of Sir Thomas Munro as a man in whom the highest qualities of the soldier and statesman were pre-eminently united.

is an admirable specimen of official correspondence —temperate and dignified in tone; clear and forcible in diction:

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

"SIR,—We have had the honor to receive your letter of the 1st instant, communicating to us, for the information of the Court of Directors, the sentiments of his Majesty's Ministers on the resolution passed by the Court on the 26th ultimo, for continuing Sir Charles T. Metcalfe in the office of Governor-General of India.

"Having laid your letter before the Court, we have been requested to submit to you the following observations:

"The Court of Directors concur with his Majesty's Ministers in opinion that, in proceeding to fill up the office of Governor-General, a permanent arrangement is to be preferred; and impressed as they are with the conviction that Sir Charles Metcalfe is peculiarly qualified to do justice to that high and difficult trust, and that his services are of the utmost importance at the present moment, it would have been most satisfactory to the Court if the King's Ministers had thought proper to advise his Majesty to give his royal approbation to the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the office of Governor-General, upon a footing more permanent than that which the Court had themselves proposed.

"But the Court of Directors have learnt with deep regret that Sir Charles Metcalfe is considered by his Majesty's Government to be ineligible to the station of Governor-General; and upon grounds which would exclude the whole Service of India from that high office.

"The Court of Directors feel little disposed to engage in discussing the merits of an opinion which his Majesty's Ministers appear to have adopted on the authority of the late Mr. Canning. They will only observe, that the whole course of our transactions in British India may be referred to as furnishing the most conclusive evidence that the servants of the Company, both civil and military, are eminently qualified for the highest

public trust, and that the important office of Governor-General has been held by several of them with the utmost advantage to the national interests. The Court will not unnecessarily recall to the recollection of his Majesty's Ministers those names which have rendered the Service of India illustrious—that Service to whose merits, to whose talents and high tone of character, the late Mr. Canning has himself borne the most unqualified testimony.

"But the Court cannot refrain from observing that, independently of the impolicy of putting forth any general declaration of ineligibility, his Majesty's Ministers appear to them to be scarcely justified in proposing to narrow the choice of the Court, by excluding any class of men, possessing the necessary qualifications, from the office of Governor-General.

"The Court of Directors, in exercising those functions with which the law invested them, are still desirous, at all times, to act in cordial concurrence with the King's Government, and especially in those instances where the two authorities are called upon to act together. With this feeling, the Court will, at the proper time, take into their consideration the expediency of adopting an arrangement for filling up the office of Governor-General of India; and the Court cannot for a moment doubt that his Majesty's Ministers will fully concur with them in opinion that high qualification for the office must be an indispensable condition of the appointment—that the selection must be made primarily upon this ground, without regard to other considerations—and that to lose sight of this leading object would be to compromise the interests and, perhaps, the safety of our Indian Empire.

"We have the honor, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"W. Stanley Clarke.

"East India House, 8th October, 1834."

This letter was carried triumphantly through the Court. Only one dissentient voice was lifted up against it. At the same time Mr. Tucker wrote

privately to Charles Grant,* remonstrating, in still more forcible language, against the Ministerial dictum, and pronouncing the practice, which it was intended to support, an unconstitutional infraction of the intent of the law under which India was governed. He took counsel also with the legal

* In the letters which I have quoted it has appeared so prominently that Mr. Grant was himself a candidate for the office of Governor-General, that there was no need to repeat it in the text. This has long been, indeed, an historical fact. It was first announced to the country by Mr. Mills, who, in a speech characterised by his wonted candor and fearlessness, delivered at a Court of Proprietors on the 15th of July, 1835, laid bare the whole proceedings of the Court and the King's Ministers. Speaking of Mr. Tucker's opposition to Charles Grant's appointment, he said that "their late Chairman, with that independence of spirit which distinguished his conduct both in India and in this country, resisted the attempt of the President of the Board of Control, though backed by all the powers of Government;" and the announcement was received with loud cheers. But, although Mr. Tucker acted thus without hesitation, as he was bound to do, he did not oppose the appointment of Mr. Grant without strong feelings of personal regret. I have already said that he respected and loved the man. He recognised his many fine qualities; but believed that "ambition should be made of sterner stuff," and that this sterner stuff was wanting. What Mr. Tucker wrote on this subject to Mr. Grant himself is so honorable to both parties, that, after a lapse of eighteen years, it may be cited without impropriety or indelicacy. "With respect to yourself," he wrote on the 22nd of August, 1834, "I hope that it is unnecessary for me to repeat, that I entertain the highest opinion of your talents, your various acquirements, and your intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India; and, if I were called upon to point out an objection to you, it would have reference to qualities of the mind and disposition, which in private life are justly esteemed virtues. But in India there is much rugged work, calling sometimes for the most determined austerity of purpose. Your having held your present office so long, and your long and familiar acquaintance with the public transactions in India, would unquestionably give you a very great advantage in undertaking duties of extreme difficulty; but there are, on the other hand, objections to the arrangement, to which the Court would, I am persuaded, attach the greatest weight. Among these, your position relatively with your brother, and the unreasonableness of committing to one family nearly the whole power and patronage of India, would immediately be insisted upon. I must candidly own that they would operate with me; but even if I were prepared (which I confess I am not) to propose the appointment, I feel persuaded that I could not carry with me a majority of the Court."

advisers of the Company relative to the interpretation of that clause of the Charter-Act which compelled the Court to nominate a successor within two months of the announcement of the resignation of an Indian Governor, and on their failure transferred the right of nomination to the Crown. The decision of the Law-officers was, that under the circumstances which had arisen the right of nomination would not be forfeited. But the Crown Ministers took a different view of the matter; and were inclined to assert their prerogative. As no recent intelligence had then been received from Calcutta, and as it was probable that further information from the seat of the Supreme Government might bear upon the question at issue, it might have been convenient not to press it to an immediate decision. But with the prospect before the Court of forfeiting their right of nomination, what other course was it possible to pursue?

It was a perplexing and embarrassing situation in which Mr. Tucker now found himself placed. He was resolute not to propose the appointment of a man in whose public character and tried capacity he had not the fullest faith. He had written in August, with reference to this subject, that he would rather resign his office than be a party to any such appointment. "I never can bring forward," he said, "a measure which I am not prepared cordially and strenuously to support and justify; nor can I vote upon the propositions of others, in opposition to my own judgment; but I would willingly leave the Chair to make room for others,

if my remaining in it would create any obstacle to the adoption of any arrangement likely to be productive of public advantage, and to meet with the concurrence of the Court." And now, in October, having vainly endeavored to secure the nomination of either Elphinstone or Metcalfe, and not having confidence in any of the Ministerial *protégés*, he found himself approaching the close of the period of grace allowed by the Act of Parliament, without any appointment having been made, or being likely to be made, whilst the Crown Ministers were seemingly waiting to take advantage of the lapse. The President of the Board of Control had, some time before, expressed an opinion that no time should be lost in appointing a successor to Lord William Bentinck; but now, although Mr. Tucker pressed for a declaration of the Ministerial views, Mr. Grant declared that he was not prepared to enter on the question. He was playing a waiting-game, thinking either to compel the Court to act at a disadvantage, or to punish them for not acting at all.*

It seems to have been, at this time, the policy of the Crown Ministers not to precipitate the appointment of a Governor-General, but to wait patiently, in the hope that something might be written down in that great Chapter of Accidents which contains the solution of so many perplexing enigmas. And they waited to some purpose. For before the year had expired—before they had contrived to induce

* See letter from Mr. Tucker to Mr. Charles Grant [October 16, 1834], given in the next chapter, page 480.

the Court of Directors to nominate a Governor-General of the Ministerial party—the Cabinet was broken up and Parliament was dissolved.

All through the year, events had been rapidly tending to this pass. The retirement of Lord Grey in August had greatly weakened the Government, and now, in November, the elevation of Lord Althorp to the Upper House brought matters to a crisis. The removal of the popular leader of the House of Commons to a sphere of limited influence and utility was but the last fitful gust that overthrew the tottering fabric. Lord Melbourne believed that the mischief was not irreparable. He went down to Brighton to persuade Lord John Russell to take Lord Spencer's place; but the King, believing that the Cabinet could not be patched up in this manner, sent for the Duke of Wellington.

Sir Robert Peel was, at this time, the hope of the Conservative party. But he was wandering among the ruins of old Rome, intent rather upon the shadowy dreams of the Past than the solid realities of the Present. Party and Place were distant from his thoughts when he was summoned from the banks of the Tiber to the banks of the Thames, and invited to take the command of a Ministry of his own recruiting. Hastening to London, on what must have seemed to him a bootless errand, he arrived there in the second week of December, and waited on the King. Before the end of the month Parliament was dissolved; and the new year opened with a General Election. It was altogether a hopeless ex-

periment. The Whig Ministry had lost the confidence of the country, because they had exhibited certain leanings towards Toryism which the people could not tolerate; and now the Tories themselves were seeking for public support. It was certain that the new Parliament would not keep the Ministers in their places; and it had scarcely assembled before the fate of the Government was sealed.

But before the assembling of Parliament a new Governor-General of India had been nominated by the Court of Directors and accepted by the Crown. On the 28th of January, 1835, Lord Heytesbury was appointed; on the 5th of February, the approval of the Crown was given—and there seemed to be no sort of obstacle to the completion of an arrangement which was looked upon with favor by the authorities both in the East and West end of the town. Lord Heytesbury was a distinguished European diplomatist, and a man of moderate political opinions. Of India he knew nothing; but as it had become an axiom among English statesmen that ignorance and inexperience are essential qualifications for Indian office, the selection was at least as harmless as any other that could have been made from among the same class of men. "The appointment," said Mr. Tucker, in an able minute called forth by circumstances which will presently be narrated, "was formally and deliberately made by the Court of Directors under the provisions of the existing law, with the full approbation of his Majesty. . . . It was the free and unbiassed act of the Court.

It devolved upon me to have the honor of proposing him to my colleagues; and I did so, not hastily, not under the domineering influence of the Government, but deliberately, after inquiry, and after satisfying myself that his Lordship was likely to do ample justice to the high and responsible trust which it was proposed to confide to him."—"Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, I can declare," continued Mr. Tucker, "acted most honorably on the occasion: the great object seemed to me to make the most judicious selection for the office; and if it were permitted me to enter into the details of what passed on the occasion, I could establish beyond all dispute that the (Conservative) Ministry were prepared to concur in the appointment of one totally unconnected with them in party politics."*

This "one" was Mountstuart Elphinstone. "Lord Heytesbury's appointment," wrote Mr. Tucker in a private letter, dated June 28, 1835, "was not dictated by any party spirit, nor intended to promote any party views. The first individual whom I named was Mr. Elphinstone, whose family and connexions (as you know) are all Whigs; and Lord Ellenborough, I believe, immediately wrote to him to express the concurrence of the King's Government. I had made the proposition to Mr. Elphinstone during the former Administration of Lord Melbourne; and I was prepared to place him in nomination, if his health would have permitted him

* See *Memorials of Indian Government*, pp. 449, 450.

to accept the charge. The late (Conservative) Ministry showed no disposition whatever to force any individual upon us. They acted most honorably, and the sole object seemed to be to find out the best qualified party within reach. Lord Heytesbury had retired from public life, and was drawn from his retreat under a conviction of his fitness for the office. I had never seen his Lordship previously; but I know from very high authority that on the Continent he is held in the highest estimation, not merely as a skilful diplomatist, but for those higher qualities which, as distinguishing the best of our countrymen, commands the respect of foreigners."*

On the 4th of March, Lord Heytesbury was sworn in as Governor-General of India. The usual Farewell Banquet was given to him at the Albion Tavern. The entertainment was a brilliant one. Sir Henry Fane, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, was also the guest of the night. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and many others of the most distinguished men of the age, were to be seen assembled in the Banquet-room. After the lapse of nearly a score of years, all the circumstances of this great dinner are vividly remembered by many of the guests. Mr. Tucker, who occupied the Chair, spoke with even something

* In a Postscript to this letter, Mr. Tucker adds: "In excluding, as I have wished to do, all party feeling from our Court, I do not, of course, disclaim political opinions and preferences. Every man who reflects at all, must adopt political opinions, and must associate himself, more or less, with those who adopt similar opinions; but my maxim has been that India ought to be of no party—and that our Court ought to be independent, and to stand aloof from all party connexions, which might compromise its independence."

more than his wonted animation and impressiveness. Among all the toasts that he introduced, not one was given out with so much earnestness of utterance and cordiality of manner as the health of the Duke of Wellington;* and I have heard it said by an impartial and a competent witness, that the Duke rarely spoke with so much feeling and so much eloquence as when, responding to the toast, he reverted to his past career and his early connexion with the Company. Mr. Tucker was all his life a consistent advocate of Peace, and for the soldier who fought for the mere love of fighting, no matter what his eminence, what his success, he entertained a sovereign contempt. But the qualities that make up a great warrior no man knew better how to appreciate; and no man more respected the Duke of Wellington than Mr. Tucker. The feeling of respect, indeed, was reciprocal between them. The Duke recognised the ability and integrity of Mr. Tucker; and though for a time he withdrew his favor from the East India Director, it may be doubted whether he ever ceased to esteem the man.†

So Lord Heytesbury partook of the Farewell Banquet at the Albion, and was publicly congratulated there as the Governor-General Elect. Pri-

* In the course of the speech, whilst alluding to the might with which Wellington had broken the strength of our national enemies, Mr. Tucker struck the glass before him with the Chairman's hammer, and shivered it to pieces. It was not a theatrical *coup;* it was a mere accident—but the impressiveness of the speech was enhanced by so striking an illustration.

† When Mr. Tucker was with his family at Walmer, in 1840, the Duke, hearing of his arrival, exclaimed: "Mr. Tucker here! I'll go and see him." And he did so—immediately inviting him and the members of his family to the castle.

vately he was busy with his preparations—preparations not limited to his material outfit, for which the accustomed grant of money had been paid by the Company—but extending to the inner equipment of his mind; for he was continually in communication with Mr. Tucker, and exhibited a laudable eagerness to acquire information relating both to the internal and external affairs of his new Government. His willingness to learn promised well for his after-career—but it was written down in the Chapter of Accidents that there was to be no after-career. The Conservative Ministry had been in a moribund state from the very day of its birth; and now, in April, before Lord Heytesbury had embarked for Calcutta, the last throes of mortal sickness were upon it, and it perished for lack of strength.

Upon this the King sent for Lord Melbourne; and the old Whig Ministry was reconstructed—the same, "with a difference." Mr. Charles Grant was promoted to the Colonial Office, and Sir John Cam Hobhouse went to the India Board. If great cleverness and great boldness had been all the qualities requisite in an Indian Minister, the appointment would have been an excellent one. A man of varied accomplishments, with a genius which, if full justice had been done to it, might have placed him in the front rank of the statesmen of the age, and an audacious candor which commanded the unwilling admiration even of those who condemned it, he was as little likely to bungle through his new duties, for

want of official aptitude, as any member of the Ministry, but perhaps, of all its members, the most likely to commit himself and his colleagues to some act of splendid temerity. He was a very able, but a very unsafe man. Possessing many fine qualities both of head and heart, he yet lacked those which are most essential to the character of a statesman; for he was without prudence and discretion. Of India and its affairs he knew little; and ignorance did not magnify their importance in his mind—the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle was entirely reversed—for he held them of very little account. He had not long, indeed, taken his seat at the India Board, before he publicly declared, that he thought it better that the interests of India should suffer than that the Minister of the day should be defeated.* Such opinions may have endeared him to his party, to which he was consistently true—no small merit in an age of tergiversation—but the enunciation of them was not a circumstance of happy augury for the future welfare of the country whose destinies were to be committed to his hands.

Such, in a few words, was the man who, at the end of the month of March, met the "Chairs" for the first time, and confidentially announced that the Ministry of which he was a member had come to the resolution of revoking Lord Heytesbury's ap-

* See speech of Mr. Mills in the Court of Proprietors, July 15, 1835.—*Asiatic Journal.* See also Appendix C.

pointment.* They had suffered this rich piece of patronage to slip through their hands in the autumn, and now they were determined to lose no time in grasping at it again, and securing it by greater promptitude of action. And they did not miss it a second time. Lord Heytesbury's appointment was revoked; and an amiable nobleman, who had exhibited at the Admiralty some aptitude for official business, but whose qualities were generally of that negative character which can secure for a man only a respectable character as a statesman, and that only in quiet times and ordinary conjunctures, was selected to fill his place. Lord Auckland was appointed Governor-General of India.†

* Perhaps it ought more strictly to be written, "had formed an intention of revoking." The "resolution" came afterwards. "At the close of the month of April," wrote Mr. Tucker, "Lord Heytesbury's preparations for embarkation were complete; but at the first interview which the Chairs had with the President of the India Board, after that right honorable gentleman had assumed office on the 30th of that month, they were informed, under the injunction of strict confidence, that his Majesty's Ministers intended to recommend the revocation of Lord Heytesbury's appointment; and the Chairs were not released from this injunction of confidence (which, indeed, was repeated at the instance of the President through one of the Board's secretaries) until the Cabinet had resolved upon the measure, which was accordingly first officially announced in the President's letters to the Chairs of the 4th of May. Not one reason, however, was given for setting aside in so abrupt and unprecedented a manner the appointment of a nobleman who was selected for the office of Governor-General solely upon public grounds, and free from all party bias or political feeling."

† The Whigs claimed credit at this time for having offered the appointment to Mountstuart Elphinstone. At a meeting of the Court of Proprietors, Colonel Leicester Stanhope ostentatiously announced that this offer was one of the first acts of the new Ministry. No such offer was ever made; but if it had been, I think it not improbable that the Whigs would have been about as sincere as the Tories. Mr. Elphinstone had declined the appointment, on account of the state of his health, when the Court of Directors were

Mr. Tucker had by this time quitted the Chair. He had ceased, indeed, to be a member of the Court of Directors, for his year of rustication had come round, and, therefore, he had no part in the councils of the India House. But these proceedings rendered him indignant in the extreme; and he drew up some masterly comments on the impropriety of the Government measure, and the evil consequences of rendering India, in any sense, the Government of a party. These minutes he could not officially record at the India House; but he sent a copy of them to Sir Robert Peel and other Conservative statesmen, and he embodied their substance in a series of Resolutions, which he proposed to submit to the Court of Proprietors. Mr. Praed, who had been Secretary to the Board of Control under the Peel Ministry, had given notice of a motion for the production of papers, and with reference to this, Mr. Tucker wrote to the Tory leader:

"TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

"Southgate, 26th June, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,—I take a deep interest in the question which, I understand, will be brought forward in the House of Commons on Monday next by Mr. Praed; and, in fact, I am personally concerned, as the party who proposed to the Court of

anxious to appoint him, in the early part of 1834; and it was well known that he could not be induced to accept it. If the Whigs had really made the offer, as something more than a sham, they must have got over the objections which existed, when Mr. Grant was at the Board of Control, to a Governor-General reared in the ranks of the Company's service; and if they had abandoned their prejudices against competent and experienced statesmen, there was no obstacle to the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Directors the appointment of Lord Heytesbury to the Government of India.

"You will, therefore, I trust, excuse the liberty I take in submitting to you the accompanying papers. The one is the sketch of a series of Resolutions, which I propose to bring forward, eventually, in the Court of Proprietors. The other is the draft of a proposed dissent, prepared at the East India House, but not yet recorded; nor do I know whether any of my colleagues will determine to record it. I am not, at present, a member of the Court, or I should certainly feel it to be my duty to place on record a Protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the act of supercession. My own proposed Resolutions express very imperfectly the objections to which the proceeding is liable; but by you these objections will be felt in all their force, and will, I am sure, be exposed in the most forcible manner. *I* shall not be found to call in question the Prerogative of the Crown, but the recall of Lord Heytesbury is the act of the Minister, who is responsible for it to the country.

"I cannot hope to throw any light on the subject; but the accompanying papers will, at least, show the interest which it has excited; and I am willing to hope that it cannot fail to excite a strong interest in Parliament. At all events, I feel assured that it is in hands which will do full justice to it.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Dear Sir, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

The Resolutions to which allusion is here made were not brought forward at the Court of Proprietors. Mr. Praed's motion for the production of papers was negatived; and it was considered, therefore, expedient that the Resolutions submitted to the Court should embody a call for the documents refused by Parliament. But as Mr. Tucker's draft contains in a small space the substance of the ar-

guments elsewhere set forth in detail, it may be advantageously inserted in this place:

"PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS.

"That this Court cordially concur in and highly approve the opinions expressed in the letter of their Court of Directors, bearing date the 6th ultimo, to the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, on the occasion of the supercession of the Right Honorable Lord Heytesbury, who stood appointed to the important office of Governor-General of India.

"That this Court could not view otherwise than with feelings of deep concern and alarm any attempt to render the high and responsible station of Governor-General of India subservient to political purposes in this country, contrary to the manifest intentions of the Legislature, which has carefully provided against the assumption of the patronage of India, directly or indirectly, by the Ministers of the Crown.

"That the act of cancelling an appointment formally and deliberately made by the Court of Directors under the provisions of the law, without the plea of incompetency, or other sufficient cause assigned, must be regarded as an infringement of the rights of the East India Company, and as calculated to degrade the Court of Directors in the eyes of their servants and public, and so far, to weaken their legitimate authority and influence.

"That the practice of recalling the Governors of India, upon considerations of political conveniency, on every change of Administration (such changes having been of late years very frequent), must have the effect of degrading the office and of impairing its efficiency, since men of independent fortune and high character would not be found to proceed to a distant country, and to undertake a difficult and responsible trust, when held upon so precarious a tenure; while the influence and authority of such high functionaries would be weakened in consequence of this want of permanency in their situations; the confidence of the public would be diminished; measures requiring time and persevering labor to bring them to

maturity would not be undertaken; and the public servants abroad would be taught to look to their political connexions, and to political influence in this country, for that promotion which has heretofore been sought as the reward of merit and useful service.

"That this Court regard with sentiments of the most profound respect the Royal Prerogative; but impressed as they are with the conviction that the appointment of Lord Heytesbury to the office of Governor-General of India was adopted by the Court of Directors, and approved by the late Government, on public considerations, without reference to political objects; that the high character, the known talents, and eminent services of this nobleman in various stations of great trust, and under circumstances of great delicacy and difficulty, furnish a strong and satisfactory assurance that his services in the important office of Governor-General of India might be expected to promote, not only the well-being and prosperity of our Indian subjects, but the great interests of the empire at large—this Court earnestly recommend to their Court of Directors to address a further remonstrance to the President of the Board on the supercession of Lord Heytesbury, and to urge upon his Majesty's Ministers, in respectful, but decided terms, the expediency of their withdrawing the letter of recall, and of giving effect to an appointment which has met with such general approbation, and from which such favorable results may reasonably be anticipated."

The call for papers at the India House, moved for by Mr. Mills, seconded by Mr. Tucker, was successful. There was a long and energetic debate. The opposition, headed by Sir Charles Forbes, contested the point with some spirit; but the papers were eventually voted. This was on the 15th of July. Six days before the meeting, Mr. Tucker had addressed to the Court of Directors a long and vigorously-written letter, reviewing all the circumstances

of Lord Heytesbury's appointment, and commenting upon the grievous injury that would be inflicted upon India, if the administration of her affairs were to be directly or indirectly influenced by the strife of parties at home.* This also Mr. Tucker sent to Sir Robert Peel, who, acknowledging the receipt of it, truly said: "I think you underrate the effect which your Protests and Remonstrances will produce. They may not avail in rescinding that particular act of unwarrantable interference, against which they are especially directed, but they will remain on record as a public proof that the undue exercise of power was not tamely acquiesced in, but that its motives were exposed, and its consequences deprecated, with equal vigilance, independence, and ability."

And this, indeed, was the use of Mr. Tucker's remonstrances. Lord Auckland went out to India; but the revocation of Lord Heytesbury's appointment is an historical fact, the character of which has been painted in its true colors. Of the soundness of the arguments adduced in the papers to which I have referred, it is difficult to entertain a doubt. It may, of course, be urged that it is at all times desirable that the Governor-General of India should enjoy the entire confidence of the Crown Ministers. But, as to enjoy the confidence of the Ministry means, in ordinary official language, to belong to the same party, if this consideration were paramount, it would be necessary to change

* See *Memorials of Indian Government*, in which this paper is inserted.

the Governor-General of India as often as the President of the Board of Control, and the Government of India would then become, to all intents and purposes, the Government of a Party. If a Tory Government can have no confidence in a Whig statesman, or a Whig Government no confidence in a Tory, it may be, and we believe it *is*, desirable that the Governor-General of India should not be closely connected either with one party or the other—that men like Elphinstone and Metcalfe, whom neither Faction would mistrust, on account of their Party views or political antecedents, should be appointed to this high office; but it certainly is not desirable that the Governor-General of India should occupy a seat from which he may any day be driven by a gust of Parliamentary caprice at St. Stephen's, or the impetus of a Downing-street fracas.

It is true that in this instance Lord Heytesbury was only a Governor-General Elect—that he had only been appointed to fill the office—that he had only received as much of the Company's money as was supposed to be sufficient to provide his outfit, and that his performances in the service of the Company had been limited to the consumption of the initiatory turtle, and the delivery of the inaugural address at the Albion. But, in principle at least, it was as much a recall of a Governor-General—and a recall for Party purposes—as if Lord Heytesbury had actually inhaled the dust of Calcutta, and gazed at the snows of the eternal Himalaya. It was known throughout India that this nobleman had

been appointed Governor-General of India, and in the presence of his Majesty's Minister and the authorities of the India House had been publicly congratulated on his accession to office. Therefore, although the mischief of his precipitate recall might not have been so disastrous as if any great political measures had been suddenly arrested by his removal from office, doubtless much mischief was *done*. The natives of India had been taught, that often as they had been told that their country was never again to be made the battle-field of Party, their chief ruler was, after all, not the representative of the British Sovereign or of the British people, but the representative of a Faction that might be dominant to-day and utterly prostrate to-morrow. They had seen Charles Metcalfe Sahib set aside first for one English Peer and then for another, of neither of whom they had ever heard; they had seen three English Ministries within the space of a few months, each Ministry grasping at the patronage of India, and eager to send out an untried nominee of its own. Could anything have been more surely calculated than this to shake their confidence in the character of that paternal Government of which they had heard so much—a Government, whose parental instincts were now manifesting themselves in a frantic eagerness to clutch the perquisites of office, and to divide the *spolia opima* of Indian patronage among themselves?

But although the events to the recital of which this chapter has been devoted are those, for the most

part, which constitute the historical importance of Mr. Tucker's first Chairmanship, they are but mere accidental protuberances, which by no means represent the formal reality of Chairman-life in Leadenhall-street. Very different, indeed, was the daily work in which Mr. Tucker was at this time engaged. "My time," he wrote to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "has been chiefly occupied with the question of compensation to our maritime service—the reorganisation of our establishments—the warehousing and managing private goods—and other commercial matters quite alien to the business of administering to the affairs of India, and by the time these troublesome questions are well settled I shall be leaving the Directorship. So we go on." In other words, he was superintending the obsequies of the Trade; seeing that its remains were decently laid out, and that its interment was ceremoniously performed. He was Undertaker and Executor too at the same time. The assets of the dear departed were to be realised. The estate was to be wound up. All this demanded the exercise of no small amount of industry—no small amount of ability; but it will hardly be a subject of complaint that it is not dwelt upon here more in detail.

But the record of this period of Mr. Tucker's life would be imperfect, if I did not touch upon an incident, connected with his Chairmanship, which has a fine characteristic flavor about it. He was invited to dine at the King's table, where, after dinner, William was pleased to drink to the prosperity

of the East India Company. I believe that it is not the etiquette of the Court on these occasions for the royal guests to make "speeches;" but, either unacquainted with the observances of these royal entertainments, or believing that the custom of silent acknowledgment was more honored in the breach, he thus responded to his Majesty's address:

"Sire,—I beg to offer your Majesty my dutiful and respectful acknowledgments for the compliment paid by your Majesty to the East India Company, whose representative I have the honor to be on the present occasion.

"As a very humble individual, I would willingly avoid public observation; but in the performance of every public duty I have endeavored always to forget, as far as possible, my own personal identity. Your Majesty has been pleased to draw me from my shell. And the just observations which your Majesty has made, upon the effect of the social institutions of this country, are strongly illustrated in my own person; for in the presence of my Sovereign stands a quondam sailor-boy—friendless, and half-educated—but now the representative of a public Body, whose deeds have cast a lustre over the brightest pages of English history.

"Sire,—Your Majesty's Councils and the wisdom of the Legislature have lately introduced great and important changes into the constitution of that Body. While this difficult and complicated question was under consideration, my colleagues and myself strenuously and vehemently opposed the projected change. We did so upon principle, upon a strong conviction that the proposed change of system would compromise the national interests. But now that the decision has been finally passed, it has become our duty as good citizens, as loyal subjects, and as honorable men, to render the new system as efficient as possible, and to extract from it the utmost good of which it may be susceptible.

"But while, Sire, we cordially embrace, and promise to

cherish, the new Bride which has been presented to us, may I be permitted, without presumption and without offence, to pay one last tribute of regard to the object of my early affections—the late East India Company. By an extraordinary union of bold councils and daring enterprise in the field, that singularly constituted Body succeeded in adding a whole region, teeming with countless multitudes of industrious and faithful subjects, to the Empire of Great Britain. Fostered, protected, and encouraged by your Majesty's illustrious father, that Company placed in the British Crown its most precious jewel. And may 'He that wears the Crown immortally' long preserve the peerless gem in your Majesty's Crown, and long may your Majesty and your royal House continue to wear that Crown, for the well-being of these realms, and for the happiness and prosperity of the people of India, whose destinies are now bound up in the fate of the British Empire."

There was a manliness—a sincerity in this that must have pleased the Sovereign far better than courtly words, or even more courtly silence.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. Tucker's Private Correspondence—Letters to Mr. Blunt—Mr. Charles Grant—Mountstuart Elphinstone—Lord William Bentinck—Sir Charles Metcalfe and Others.

From the Correspondence of Mr. Tucker, during his tenure of office, I have made some selections, for the most part in illustration of subjects touched on in the preceding chapter. They tell, with sufficient distinctness, their own story; and call for no further comment:

"TO WM. BLUNT, ESQ.

[On the Changes in the Constitution of the Company under the New Charter-Act.]

"East India House, May, 1834.

"My dear Blunt,—I have been favored with your two letters dated the end of December; and I was much gratified to find both you and my friend, Sir C. Metcalfe, concurring so generally in the views which I had taken of our proper line of policy in the course of discussing the Charter question. It is much to be regretted that we, the Court, did not adopt a more decided course at an earlier period; for, in that case, a modification of the new system might, I think, have been effected, or, at all events, time would have been obtained for its more gradual introduction. All parties seem to me now to feel that the changes have been pushed forward with unnecessary and injudicious precipitancy; but we cannot retrace our steps now that the old machinery has been nearly broken up. What I

most dread, is the unchecked resort of Europeans to India, and their location upon the land. This may lead to much injustice and oppression to the natives, and to a fearful struggle at some future period; but I used my utmost efforts, to no purpose, to prevent the measure. I succeeded better with the slavery question; and it will be the fault of the legislative Government if any imprudent step be taken with relation to this object. Mr. Grant was urged on by a strong popular feeling; but we checked it here successfully. We have just now, on the table of the Court, a long letter, giving an outline of the Plan which we think should be adopted for framing your new constitution, and for the exercise of your legislative functions; and I hope to be able to despatch it in the course of a month, although these despatches go through a very operose process. We proceed, however, very cordially and comfortably with the Board; and in less than three months I hope to have every letter from India answered, to the end of 1833. We are about to put forth here a Transfer loan, for the admission of the six-per-cent. remittable loan; and if it succeed, a great advantage will have been obtained for the Company; but I took an objection *in limine* to the project. I do not like the idea of our *financiering* for India in this country, to the exclusion of the local Government and the local officers, who ought to be responsible for all such measures.

"With every good wish for your health and happiness,

"Believe me, very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. C. GRANT.

[On the Appointment of Mr. Robert Grant to the Governorship of Bombay.]

"East India House, 26th May, 1834.

"My dear Sir,—I have been favored with your note of yesterday; and it is unnecessary for me, I think, to say that I entertain the highest opinion of Mr. R. Grant's talents, and of his qualification for a high public station. I do not, therefore, hesitate in mentioning to you that I shall feel perfectly justi-

fied in proposing him for the Government of Bombay, and that I shall feel personal satisfaction in doing so.

"We have a Committee to-day; but I do not intend to consult my colleagues on the appointment until I have the pleasure of seeing you. I anticipate only two objections on their part—the one, that 'lawyers do not often make the best statesmen;' the other, that, connected as your brother will be with the Board, the Court may not be able to exercise the same efficient control over his proceedings. The first objection, I think, applies only to those who, from habit, have bound down their minds to the technicalities of the profession. On the second, I may observe, that the Court will never, I trust, find any difficulty in exerting all its legal powers.

"On the first open day I shall have the pleasure of calling upon you, when we may confer on the proper time for bringing forward the nomination, and other particulars.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very sincerely, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Right Hon. Charles Grant, &c., &c.

"P.S.—I have detained this note until the arrival of the Deputy, as I wished to show it to him."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD W. BENTINCK.

[On the Oude Despatches—Military Rank in the Queen's and Company's Services—The Resort of Natives to England, &c., &c.]

"East India House, 19th July, 1834.

"My Lord,—I was glad to hear that your Lordship had left Madras for Bangalore in perfect health; and I hope that we shall soon receive a report of your operations in Mysore—that they will all be successful—and that the necessity for any military operations against the Coorg Rajah will have been averted by his submission.

"We have at length passed and despatched the Oude letter, which has been so long upon the anvil, and which has produced so much difference of opinion among us. The authority, to take the last decisive step, is given up, on the assumption of

an extreme necessity, of which your Lordship is constituted the judge. The question has been now for two years before the Court and the Board; and it appeared to the late Chairman and myself, not only an act of justice to your Lordship, but a measure of positive duty, to put an end to this state of suspense, and to give, at least, conditional, if not peremptory, orders. I feel myself the utmost repugnance to any proceeding which can involve the violation or infringement of a treaty, and I am not disposed to admit very easily considerations of expediency; but in the present case we seem scarcely to have a choice. Something must be done; and the only question is, whether the exigency is such as to justify the last extreme measure.

"We have had a great deal of discussion on the question relating to the rank of colonel, the supply of general officers for the station commands, &c. A voluminous correspondence has taken place; many professional opinions have been obtained by Mr. Grant; and I submitted the whole to the Duke of Wellington, whom I was anxious to enlist on our side, both as the highest military authority, and as the proper expounder of the Regulations of 1828, which were framed under his authority. His Grace has written a very able paper on the subject; but I fear that we shall not succeed in obtaining what we have been contending for. The question will, however, I trust, be soon brought to a decision; and I shall lose no time in communicating to your Lordship the result.

"Mr. R. Grant, the new Governor of Bombay, embarks in the *Buckinghamshire* on the 1st Sept., and will probably reach his destination by the end of the year. Mr. Cameron, our new Law Commissioner, will accompany him, and probably land at Point de Galle. Our proposed despatch on the constitution of the Indian Government, the exercise of its legislative functions, &c., &c., is still before the Board; but I hope that we shall be able to launch it off without much further delay.*

"The steam question has been for some time before a Com-

* This is the despatch to the Supreme Government of India, dated December, 1834, containing the views of the Court with respect to the interpretation of the new Charter—a very masterly state-paper.

mittee of the House of Commons, who propose, I understand, that we should undertake experimental operations on a joint account with the King's Government. I am not, I own, quite so sanguine as many others appear to be, both here and in India, with respect to the success of the plans which have been proposed; although I quite concur in the importance of the object. I would not annihilate both time and space, but I would gladly accelerate the communication between India and England, and so far virtually approximate the two countries.

"We are beginning to be very much tormented by natives resorting to this country, to prefer most extravagant claims, and to obtain redress for all manner of grievances; and it is very difficult to deal with them here. We have at this moment in the House one of these persons, in custody of one of his Majesty's attendants at Windsor, he having threatened to throw himself under the King's carriage. Others threaten to sit *dhurna* upon us, in order that we may restore to one—his wife, to another—lands claimed as Jaghir (although never possessed), under a sunnud from Aulumjeer ; and a third, to be restored to your Lordship's body-guard, &c., &c. All this will be very embarrassing by-and-by; because the feelings in this country are such that we cannot proceed in a summary manner with such parties, although we have every reason to believe that they are not entitled to a moment's attention.

"With every good wish for your Lordship's health, and the success of your administration,

"I have, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

[On the Succession to the Governor-Generalship.]

"East India House, 28th August, 1834.

"My dear Sir,—Lord W. Bentinck, as you perhaps may have heard, has sent in his resignation ; and I shall be called upon, at an early period, to propose a successor. My choice would rest between Sir C. Metcalfe and yourself ; and I shall be ready to place in nomination either, giving a preference only

to the one, who may be most acceptable to the Court and the King's Government. That Government may have other views; but I will not lend myself to any project which I cannot cordially concur in, and justify. Others must move, if I am not allowed to do what I think right. What I would request is, that you would say whether, in the event of my having reason to believe that you would be the choice of the Court and the Board, you would be prepared to undertake this important trust. I ask particularly with reference to your health; for if that should oppose an objection, I should proceed no further.

"Believe me, with great esteem,
"Very sincerely yours,
"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES GRANT.

[On the Succession to the Governor-Generalship.]

"East India House, 4th Sept., 1834.

"My dear Sir,—I have been anxiously occupied, as you will easily believe, in the consideration of the steps which it will be necessary or expedient to adopt, in consequence of the resignation of Lord Wm. Bentinck; and I have summoned a special Court for Wednesday next, in order that I may have an opportunity of consulting my colleagues on the subject. I have already conferred with many of them individually; and by far the greater number cordially incline to the arrangement which I shall feel it my duty to propose to the Court, and to submit to you, for the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

"It is—to confirm Sir Charles Metcalfe in the office of Governor-General of India.

"Of his superior talents, and of his high qualification for an important public trust, he has afforded, I think, abundant evidence, during a long and a very distinguished course of public service; and at the present period, when there is so much to arrange—so much crude matter to reduce into form, it appears to me highly essential that we should command the

services of one who, to great knowledge and experience, adds energy of character and an uncompromising rectitude—one, in short, tried, and known to the public, and in whom the public would place the utmost confidence.

"Should the Court make choice of Sir Charles Metcalfe for the office of Governor-General, and should the selection meet with the approbation of his Majesty's Government, it will become necessary to adopt some subsidiary arrangements.

"Without, however, proceeding to these before the main question has been decided, upon which, in fact, they will hinge, I may be allowed to offer it as my individual opinion that it will be advisable to give the new Governor of Agra (whoever he may be) the aid of a Council; and that it will be more convenient to assign the new Commander-in-Chief a seat in that Council, than one in the Legislative Council of India. At Agra he will be in the very centre of the army; and will be in a situation to exercise an efficient military control, while performing his civil duties. I was always disposed to think that a Council would, sooner or later, become necessary, or at least be found useful; although it appeared to me that it might be, for a time, dispensed with, while the administration remained in the hands of Sir C. Metcalfe.

"I have merely thrown out these suggestions, with a view to call your attention to the subject generally; but I shall be ready to enter into a more particular examination of these and other points whenever you may be prepared to take up the question, and to confer with the Deputy and myself upon its different branches.

"I have the honor to be, my dear Sir, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"I beg to annex for your information a copy of the proposed Resolution, on which I intend to take the opinion of my colleagues on Wednesday:

"'That this Court deeply laments that the state of Lord Wm. Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his valuable services at a period of great difficulty; and the Court desires to record its grateful sense of the distinguished

zeal, energy, ability, and high honor, with which his Lordship has discharged the arduous and important duties of his exalted station.

" 'That—referring to the appointment, which has been conferred by the Court, with the approbation of his Majesty, on Sir C. Metcalfe, provisionally to succeed as Governor-General, upon the death, resignation, or coming away of Lord Wm. Bentinck—this Court is of opinion that is unnecessary, and, in view to the measures now in progress, that it would be inconvenient and inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying that office; and that the Chairs be authorised and requested to communicate this opinion to his Majesty, through the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.' "

"TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES GRANT.

[On the Danish Settlements.]

"East India House, 16th Sept., 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been favored with your note of the 13th instant, enclosing a paper of suggestions signed Gloijer.

"It cannot be doubted, I think, that in negotiating the general peace, our Ministers committed a great oversight in not retaining all the possessions and factories of France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, on the continent of India. The cession was gratuitous on our part: these possessions were of no real value to the parties to whom they were restored, while they were of great value to us, as excluding a nuisance.

"But the Danish settlements are of less inconvenience to us than those of any other European power; for the Danes are a quiet, unambitious, commercial people. They formerly exported considerable quantities of piece-goods from Serampore and the coast; but this trade has, I believe, almost entirely ceased.

"The inconvenience and disadvantages which we experience from the European establishments on the continent of India, may be stated as follows, viz.:

"1st. In preventing our Government from levying the duties of customs on the whole of the import and export trade.

"2nd. In compelling us to make compensation for requiring them to forego the right to trade in salt and opium, to the prejudice of our monopoly.

"3rd. In affording an asylum to persons escaping from their creditors, or from the hands of justice.

"4th. In harbouring persons disaffected to our Government, and in affording facilities for the establishment of a malignant press. Upon these, and other considerations perhaps, it would certainly be desirable to obtain the surrender of any of the foreign settlements and factories, which we may have opportunity of obtaining; but anything may be purchased too dear, and the cession would resolve itself into a question of terms or means.

"The proposed exchange of one or more of our West India islands, I presume to be quite out of the question. We cannot make over British subjects in this manner to a foreign power; although interchanges are sometimes made at a general peace by the cession of actual conquests.

"What the money value of Tranquebar may be, I am not prepared to say; but the value of Serampore to us would not be great, I apprehend, at present. To the Danes it must, I think, be an incumbrance; and if they would surrender the settlement for the value of the public buildings, and other fixed property, to be taken at a fair valuation, both parties would, I imagine, be gainers. Their trade with Bengal might be guaranteed at the duties chargeable to the most favored nation.

"As the suggestion which has been offered to you does not seem to have proceeded from any functionary of the Danish Government, and as I do not know whether your colleagues in the Foreign or Colonial Departments have taken up the question, I have confined my remarks to a few general points; but if the proposition should be seriously entertained by his Majesty's Government, it will be my duty, and my wish, to afford every information in my power, with a view to promote a satisfactory arrangement.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. C. GRANT.

[On the Succession to the Governor-Generalship.]

"East India House, 22nd Sept., 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In our conference on Tuesday last, you gave us reason to suppose that we should be honored with an invitation from Lord Melbourne to a personal interview in the course of the week; but as I have not been favored with any communication from his Lordship, and as I stand pledged to my colleagues to bring under their consideration, on Friday next, the present state of the Indian Government, I can no longer delay to solicit through you an intimation of the views of his Majesty's Government with respect to the appointment of a successor to Lord William Bentinck.

"I have already communicated to you, and to the Court, the proposition which I intend to bring forward, for confirming Sir C. Metcalfe in the station of Governor-General, for such time as may be found necessary to enable him to carry into execution the important arrangements consequent upon the new Charter-Act; and I continue decidedly of opinion that this will be the most convenient proceeding which could be adopted. Still, it will be my duty and my wish to place before my colleagues the views of his Majesty's Ministers, if they should be prepared to offer an alternative to the Court.

"The communication which I have had with you on the subject, hitherto, having been confidential, I have not felt myself at liberty to enter into any explanations officially; but when the question is formally brought forward, the Court will, I think, expect from me every information which can assist their deliberations, in appointing a successor to Lord William Bentinck.

"I need not point out to you the necessity for an early decision. When our last advices came away, the Indian Government was evidently in an inefficient and unsatisfactory state. Strictly speaking, there was no legal administration in the two Presidencies of Bengal; and if any political occurrences, calling for prompt measures, should take place on our western frontier, it appears to me that the utmost inconvenience was to be apprehended from the absence of the principal au-

thorities, civil and military, at so great a distance from the seat of the Supreme Government.

"I have had but little time yet to reflect on the minutes of Lord William Bentinck, which you were so good as to send for my perusal; but if I wanted an argument in favor of the appointment of Sir C. Metcalfe, these documents would furnish it. I feel persuaded that Sir Charles is almost the only individual capable of extricating us from the difficulties which the proposed reduction of the Indian army will, I apprehend, produce. Let me beg you to refer to his masterly minute of the 22nd January, 1831, on the proposition of the Finance Committee to reduce the army; and although I have not the presumption to pronounce a judgment on a question of military reform, I must think that if such a delicate, such a difficult operation is to be undertaken, it cannot be entrusted to any hands so safely as to those of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who has always been popular with the army, and whose prudence and firmness will give him a peculiar advantage in conducting any measure of difficulty.

"I shall not refer in this place to the subordinate arrangements which will become necessary; because these will depend, in some measure, on the selection which may be made for the station of Governor-General; but I would observe that the question of appointing a Council to Agra, to which I have called your attention, will require an early decision. I have already submitted to you my own opinion on the question; and it is unnecessary, therefore, to trouble you with any further remarks on the subject.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES GRANT.

[On the Appointment of a Governor-General.]

"East India House, 16th October, 1834.

"My dear Sir,—I was favored with your note of yesterday, which I had an opportunity of submitting to one of our Committees.

"It has always been my earnest wish to act in concert with

you, and in concord with his Majesty's Government; but I have a paramount duty to perform towards the Court, and I must upon the present occasion act upon my sense of that duty.

"The delay of a few days may appear of small moment; but, after the declaration made by you, in the course of our conference on Tuesday, that his Majesty's Ministers, in consequence of the Court's resolution of the 26th ultimo, proposing to continue Sir C. Metcalfe in the station of Governor-General, no longer considered themselves pledged to abstain from making an appointment under the 60th section of the Charter-Act, the delay of a few days may involve the question of the forfeiture of one of the most important rights of the Court. If I have misunderstood you, it is easy to set me right; and if I have an assurance from you that the King's Government do not mean to avail themselves of any delay on our part, for the purpose of taking the appointment into their own hands—then it will be no longer necessary for me to bring forward the question to-morrow, as I now propose to do.

"In explanation (and, if you please, in justification) of my proceeding, let me beg to call to your recollection the following circumstances:

"1st. That the tender of the resignation of Lord W. Bentinck has been known to yourself, and his Majesty's Ministers, for at least seven weeks.

"2nd. That only two calendar months are allowed the Court of Directors to fill up a vacancy.

"3rd. That you yourself, in your letter to the Chairs of the 1st instant (sixteen days ago), intimated to the Court the decided opinion of his Majesty's Ministers that 'in reference to the present state of India, *no time should be lost* in appointing a permanent successor to Lord Wm. Bentinck, as Governor-General of India.'

"Lastly. Let me beg to remind you that, if any lapse take place on the part of the Court of Directors, and the appointment to the office of Governor-General devolve, in consequence, upon the King's Government, the constitution of the Indian Government is virtually changed. The Court of Directors can

no longer recall or remove a Governor-General so appointed, and, consequently, can no longer exercise the same efficient control over that high functionary, who is already invested with such extensive powers.

"Let me add that, at our two last interviews, I asked you expressly if you were prepared to enter upon the question. You stated that you were not prepared; and acting, as I have always done, with the utmost consideration towards you, I did not press you further, although I myself was perfectly prepared to submit my views to you, and to receive an intimation of the views and wishes of her Majesty's Government.

"The foregoing explanation will, I trust, satisfy you that I am not acting unreasonably in declining to accede to a further delay in bringing forward the name of a successor to Lord William Bentinck. I must give a week's notice to the Court, as I have already stated to you; and although I believe the law will give us more time, under the legal opinion which I have obtained, it is impossible for me, in a matter of such importance, to run any risk. I could not do so without bringing the rights of the Court into question, nor without subjecting my own conduct to just animadversion.

"I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"If you would wish to see us, the Deputy and myself will be happy to wait upon you, either this evening or early to-morrow, when I can explain to you my intended course of proceeding."

"TO —— ——, ESQ.

[On the Distribution of Patronage.]

"East India House, 22nd December, 1834.

"My dear Sir —I have been favored with your note of Saturday, and I regret very much that it is not in my power (circumstanced as I am) to comply with your request for a cadetcy for your young friend.

"The Court scarcely ever grant nominations to their service *as a body.* I only recollect one instance (that of Sir D. Ochter-

long) where they have deviated from their general rule or usage; and the reason for this rule is obvious. We should have innumerable applications, with which it would be impossible to comply; and we should be compelled to make very invidious distinctions.

"With respect to myself, I determined some time since to apply my extra patronage, as Chairman, to public objects, *i. e.* to provide for the sons and relations of meritorious officers of his Majesty's and our own service; and I have given effect to this determination in the manner which appeared to me best calculated to accomplish the end which I had in view.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

To the above letters may be advantageously appended two or three of a later date, in order that the narrative continuity of the next chapter may not be broken by their insertion:

"TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

[On the Authorities of the Board of Control and Court of Directors.]

"September 27th, 1838.

"My Lord Duke,—I have had the honor to receive your Grace's favor of the 14th inst., and I beg to offer my best acknowledgments for the communication. Your Grace's remarks tended greatly to fortify me in the opinion which I had previously formed on the question, and enabled me to maintain that opinion with greater confidence.

"I have the satisfaction to state that the proposition for sending out the Irish Roman Catholic priests to India at the public expense, has been negatived by a large majority of the Court; but as this attempt has been repeatedly made under the auspices of the present Government, I am not without apprehension that it may be renewed, and that sooner or later it may be successful.

"Your Grace seems to consider that the administration of

India is now vested in the National Government. This is very much the case, no doubt; but although the Legislature, by the late Charter-Act, has stripped the Court of Directors of substantial power, we are still left in a position to exert some moral influence with effect.

"In all our foreign relations and political concerns, the Board can act independently of the Court, through the Secret Committee; and here we have no voice whatever, nor are we even cognisant of the Board's proceedings.

The Board have, moreover, a general and absolute *restraining* power; but they cannot *propel* us *forwards*, if we choose to resist. Our vis-inertiæ alone is sometimes sufficient to arrest their proceedings. The present Government have on more than one occasion resorted to a high judicial tribunal for the purpose of coercing us by a Mandamus; but they signally failed. On a late occasion they ordered us to dismiss all the Judges of our Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut (the head Court of Appeal in Bengal)—we refused—they threatened to dismiss them by their own authority—they were told that this could only be done by a mandate of recall under the Sign Manual; but they were not prepared to undertake such a responsibility, and the case was closed by a peevish censure.

"The Court of Directors still, by law, retain the initiative; and although, by the connivance of their organs, this privilege may be rendered of no avail, it has heretofore been asserted with very salutary effect. We are also at liberty to *protest*, and to expose to public view instances of mal-administration; so that, as long as the Court shall be filled by independent and honorable men, they may not only, by their knowledge and experience, assist in giving a proper direction to the machine of Government, but they can also exert a wholesome influence in checking the career of an unscrupulous Government. Had this not been the case, we should have had at the present moment an establishment of Irish Roman Catholic priests as an appendage to our Indian army.

"Still, I feel most painfully that we are gradually sinking. Our weight and influence have declined of late, and are declining; and among the other evils of the time, I look forward

with anxiety and apprehension to the future condition of India. It may be preserved for a longer or a shorter period; but I doubt whether it will be long preserved in a condition to be of real value to the mother country. Religious fanaticism, which is not discouraged by the present Government, has already done much to alienate the attachment of the people, to shake their confidence, and to produce uneasiness and alarm.

"I scarcely need mention that I did not make use of your Grace's letter with my colleagues, although I believe that it would have had the effect of bringing our debate to an early conclusion.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO —— ——.

[On the Education of the Civil Service.]

"East India House, 17th Aug., 1844.

"My dear ——,—It would be great presumption in me to oppose the professional opinion of so eminent a scholar as Professor Wilson, when I am no scholar at all; but I have on more than one occasion ventured to place on record my opinions with respect to Haileybury, and I have seen no reason to retract those opinions. In establishing that College, our objects, I apprehend, were threefold:

"1st. To complete a liberal education, such as young men receive at our Universities.

"2ndly. To give our civil servants an elementary knowledge of the Oriental languages, in order to facilitate the acquisition of those languages on their arrival in India. And,

"3rdly. To obtain an assurance of moral character and conduct, and of that industry and application which are essential to insure habits of business. This last has always been with me an object of paramount consideration.

"With respect to European languages and literature, I should say that we attempt *too much*. At seventeen or eighteen a young man ought to know enough of Latin and Greek; and I should be disposed to dispense with those languages in the two

last terms, or to make the study of them *optional*. It may be doubted whether French, Italian, or German, might not be substituted with advantage; but I have no wish to engage in a controversy on this question, which, perhaps, in due season will be decided by the railroad, calculated as it is to mix together the nations of Europe.

"But the Oriental branch of the question is that which we have to deal with at present, and I have no hesitation in repeating my opinion that the study of *three* Oriental languages, in addition to the other studies which are imposed upon our young men, cannot be prosecuted with advantage.

"Professor Wilson's argument is, that the acquisition of the primitive language facilitates the acquisition of the derivative language—that when Sanscrit is acquired, the acquisition of Bengali, &c., is easy. This is quite true; and the argument might be applied to the acquisition of Arabic as a means of facilitating the acquisition of the Persian. But is the process necessary? I think not; and I will state a case in point.

"I was stationed for about two years in a Bengali district (Rajeshahy), and with the aid of Halhed's little grammar I learnt enough in about three months, I think, to be able to transact public business with the people. Now, had I commenced with Sanscrit, I should have quitted the district before I reached its derivative, the Bengali, although the latter was really what I required. The best speaker of Bengali whom I met with was a Dr. M—— (an age ago), and he knew nothing of Sanscrit; and the best speaker of Hindustani whom I met with (also an age ago), was an ill-educated Irishman, who had never, probably, looked at a grammar in the course of his life. He, like Mr. B——, acquired the language in the Zenana, and the natives admitted that he spoke the language so correctly that they could not detect the European. He acquired it entirely by the ear.

"Sir William Jones, on the other hand, although a Sanscrit and a Persian scholar, could not hold the most common conversation either in Bengali or Hindustani; so that we have here the primitive languages without their leading to the derivatives. Nor do I believe that a single instance can be

adduced of one of our Haileybury students being able to carry on a dialogue, either in Hindustani or Persian. This was not the case in the Calcutta College some forty years ago.

"Persian is fast disappearing in our Bengal provinces, to which my remarks are confined; and in the course of a few years it will be of no use for any practical purposes of business. With the Hindustani, neither our civil nor military servants need ever be at a loss in the districts under the Bengal and Agra Presidencies.

"What I would deduce from these premises is, that we attempt too much, both in the *European* and *Oriental* branches of study; that two Oriental languages are as much as can be well attended to; and that even one (the Hindustani), if properly cultivated, would be sufficient; and that the study of Sanscrit, Arabic, and even Persian, might be left optional with the student. I adhere to my opinion that sixteen is the best age for entering Haileybury — that the student should be allowed to quit it and enter the service as soon as he is reported to be duly qualified, even after the expiration of his second term—and that the acquisition of the native languages should be remitted *mainly* to *India*, where more will be accomplished in six months, after a little elementary preparation here, than can be effected by a two years' residence at Haileybury.

"Believe me, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

[On the Settlement of Bundlekund.*]

". . . . If you should have taken charge of your Government of Agra, your attention will, I am sure, be directed immediately to the state of Bundlekund. I have instructed our secretary to take up the subject here as soon as possible; but what can we do here? . . . .

* This is an extract from a letter written in 1834, and accidentally omitted from the earlier part of the chapter.

"When I visited the province, it seemed to be prosperous, although not particularly well managed by the Lucknow Tehsildars, whom Baillie had introduced or recommended; but the villagers (I am tired of the term Ryot) appeared comfortable, and I have never seen in any part of the country such magnificent wells. There was a good deal of bishy (or surplus) and alienated land, which enabled the people to pay a high assessment; but when the late Mr. Scott Waring brought this land upon the rental, and taxed it, the same high rate of assessment could not be paid, and the province has rapidly declined. This is a mistake which we often make. It does not follow that by detecting alienations we can augment the revenue. . . . .

"I cannot change the opinion of men, nor can I venture to overturn a favorite system when in office only for a few months. It would be presumptuous and dangerous for me to attempt to move; but you on the spot have a heavy responsibility. The country ought not to be allowed to go to ruin. What I wish to see is, the demand of Government limited and fixed. The party with whom the settlement is to be concluded is matter of inferior consideration. I prefer moderate estates, say from 200 to 2000 rupees annual revenue; but I would not manufacture estates, as my excellent friend Sir G. Barlow attempted to do at Madras. Let them grow, as they will do if you do not crush them. What I should like to see would be, the grant of Mokurrery tenures when estates have been well ascertained, where they are in full cultivation, and where the assessment has been made by trustworthy officers. If a beginning were once made in this way, we should get on rapidly; but what have we accomplished in the last twenty years? Of late, we seem to be retrograding. My friend, Sir H. Strachey, has often reproached me for not having undertaken to form a Permanent Settlement in 1807; and if we do not manage better than we have done lately, I shall begin to reproach myself. There are various other questions to which I should like to call your attention; but I have little leisure for correspondence. . . . ."

CHAPTER XVII.

The War in Afghanistan—Our Relations with the Persian Court—Resistance of Russia an European Question—The Tripartite Treaty—Mr. Tucker's Letters to the Duke of Wellington and Others—His Opinions on the Afghan War and the Conquest of Scinde—Recall of Lord Ellenborough.

THE narrative portion of the penultimate chapter closed with the appointment of Lord Auckland to the Governor-Generalship of India. The chapter upon which I am now entering is to be devoted to the consideration of the policy pursued towards the states beyond the Indus during his and his successor's administration; and the part taken by Mr. Tucker in the resistance of measures which he believed to be both impolitic and unjust. I cannot take upon myself to say that if Lord Heytesbury's appointment had not been reversed, this chapter would not have been commenced; but I have a very strong conviction, based upon the recorded sentiments of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that if the Indian Civilian instead of the English Peer had been appointed to the Governor-Generalship, we should have heard nothing of the wars in Afghanistan and Scinde.

Whilst Mr. Tucker was yet in the Chair, the subjects of our relations with Persia and of the opening of the Indus, for purposes, as it was said, of navigation and trade, had been brought prominently before him. He seems to have seen through them both at a glance. It was his conviction, in 1834, that the Persian alliance was an European question with which the Indian Government ought not to meddle; and that inasmuch as Commercial agencies were prone to develope themselves, with extraordinary rapidity, into Political agencies, the less we concerned ourselves about the commerce of the Indus, the better it would be for the prosperity of India and the character of the British nation.

I am fortunately able to narrate in his own words the consistent course which Mr. Tucker pursued with reference to our Central-Asian policy, from the very commencement of those unhappy operations which terminated in a sea of disaster and disgrace. "I had various personal conferences with the Indian Minister throughout 1834-35," he wrote in an interesting retrospect which he drew up in 1842, "when I held the station of Chairman; and in all these conferences regarding the state of Persia and its relations with Great Britain, I invariably maintained that it was impossible to operate upon Persia with any effect *from India*, whilst that Power was countenanced and supported by Russia; and that the national force must be applied *in Europe*, if it should become necessary to counteract or to arrest the proceedings

of Russia in any of the Asiatic states. The notes of my conferences with his Majesty's Ministers I have kept as a sealed book; for I regarded them always (at least for the time) as confidential on both sides. The obligation of secresy may, however, be considered to cease when questions have been finally settled; when the facts have become publicly known through other channels, and when a disclosure can neither prove injurious to the public interests, nor hurtful to private feelings."

From these memoranda it appears that on the 7th of June, 1834, Mr. Tucker explained at great length (to the President of the Board of Control) the critical state of affairs in Persia—and urged that no measures, offensive or defensive, could be taken in India—and that the whole question should be taken up by the British Cabinet. On the 23rd of June and the 1st of July he reiterated these opinions. On the 22nd of the latter month, adverting to letters received from the Persian Envoy, Mr. Tucker strongly objected to his proposition to pay the demand of Russia (250,000*l.**), and referred to a letter, which he had written to the Board, explaining the grounds of these objections and his views of the policy to be observed in Persia. "It is become," he again emphatically said, "a European

* It was proposed that the British Government should enable Mahomed Meerza to satisfy the pecuniary claims of Russia, in order that we might "take from that Power all pretence for occupying the province of Ghilan, for demanding a cession of territory, and for interfering directly in the appointment of a successor to the throne."

question." In the letter to which he alluded on this occasion, he had laid down the following propositions:

"1st. That the British Government cannot, with the smallest prospect of success, employ a military force in Persia, for the purpose of opposing the progress of the Russian arms, or of Russian influence in that quarter.

"2nd. That we could not advance our military line of frontier in India, in the direction of Persia, without exciting jealousy and distrust on the part of the intermediate states, nor without incurring great expense unattended by any corresponding advantage.

"3rd. That we could not undertake to furnish supplies of money to the Government of Persia, in whatever hands that Government may be, with any prospect of advantage; nor, indeed, without strengthening the very Power, whose designs are supposed to be adverse to the British interests in India."

"These considerations," he continued, "would seem to lead to the conclusion that nothing effectual can be done by the Government of India to counteract the projects of Russia in the East—that the only means of opposing her advance in Persia are to be sought in Europe; and that whatever diplomatic agency it may be thought proper to maintain at the Court of Persia ought to act in immediate subordination to the political authorities in this country,

rather than under the Indian Government, which has no quick or certain means of communicating with the Envoy at Teheran, and which neither possesses the necessary information with respect to our political affairs in Europe, nor any means of compelling a European power to refrain from those acts affecting the interests of other nations, or tending to endanger the public peace." And in a postscript he had added: "We might observe generally that it is impossible for India to secure the independence of Persia, unless it could furnish both a Government, an Exchequer, and an efficient army. It is also quite clear that our relations with Persia, Turkey (including the Pachalic of Bagdad), and Syria, constitute now a general question, which can be best considered and dealt with *as a whole*."*

In the course of subsequent conferences with Mr. Grant, up to the very last which was held with him (on the 10th of December) before the dissolution of the Whig Ministry, Mr. Tucker had used the same language of remonstrance; but almost immediately on the accession of Lord Ellenborough to the Board of Control, under the Peel Ministry, the new President announced that the Persian Mission was to be made a European question—that an Envoy was to be deputed on the part of the Crown—that Mr. H. Ellis had been selected for the station, and that a communication would immediately be made to the

* The letter is of considerable interest and importance in connexion with the whole Persian question; but it is too lengthy for insertion here.

Secret Committee respecting the arrangement. But Mr. Tucker at this time declined to give any pledge with respect to the Company contributing to defray the charge.

Doubtless, however, he was well assured in his own mind that the Company would be compelled to contribute largely towards the expenses of the Mission, although it was to be appointed by the Crown. When, therefore, it was decreed that the Indian contribution should amount to 12,000*l.* per annum, he felt that it would be of little use to remonstrate against the "arrangement."* But he could hardly have formed a just conception, at that time, of the manner in which the settlement of the affairs of Persia was to be made a "European question." It was so far to be a European question, that all power and authority over the Persian Mission, and all control over the Politics of Persia, were to be vested in the Crown Ministers; but whenever great measures, costly and dangerous, were to be undertaken, when armies were to be moved, and millions of money expended for the counteraction of Russian intrigue, it was the Establishment of the East India Company that was to be indented upon, and the Treasury of the East India Company that was to be drained. The Russo-Persian question was thenceforth to be a "European question;" but it was

* He, however, steadfastly insisted upon the maintenance of this limit to the demand upon the Company. On the 26th of February he repeated to Lord Ellenborough that the Court would not consent to pay more than 12,000*l.* per annum; and that the expense of the military must either be defrayed by the Shah, or the officers and men be ordered back to Persia.

Indian blood, and it was Indian treasure that was to be lavished on its solution.

Very far removed from this was Mr. Tucker's conception of a European question. With a sagacity almost prophetic, he saw in the future the fatal consequences of interfering, from the side of India, in the affairs of Central Asia, whether the interference were to be called diplomacy or commerce. With the countries beyond the Indus he desired that the Indian Government should have nothing to do. To the charmings of Alexander Burnes, charm he never so wisely, he was insensible: "The late Sir Alexander (then Lieutenant) Burnes," wrote Mr. Tucker in 1842, "was introduced to me in 1834 as a talented and enterprising young officer; and it was suggested that he might be usefully employed as a commercial agent at Caubul, to encourage our commerce with that country, and to aid in opening the river Indus to British industry and enterprise. I am, upon principle, friendly to the extension of all legitimate commerce; but it appeared to me that the commercial resources of Afghanistan, and the means of deriving advantage from an intercourse with that country, were greatly magnified; for I had reason to know that the country was poor and difficult of access, that the people were turbulent, and that the state of society was not such as to justify an expectation that the Afghans could easily be led to adopt peaceful and industrious habits. I declined, then, to propose, or to concur in, the appointment of Lieutenant Burnes

to a commercial agency in Caubul, feeling perfectly assured that it must speedily degenerate into a *political* agency, and that we should, as a necessary consequence, be involved in all the entanglement of Afghan politics.* These, I believe, were nearly the precise words frequently repeated by me, in expressing my objection to the projected arrangement. From 1835-36 the entire charge of our relations with Persia was assumed by his Majesty's Government. Dr. (now Sir John) M'Neill was appointed Ambassador to the Shah; and the only duty, or function, which devolved upon the Court of Directors was to supply the sum of 12,000*l.* per annum, under the arrangement of January, 1835, to defray the charge of the embassy. Lieutenant Burnes returned to India; and after a short interval was deputed on a mission to Runjeet Singh at Lahore, and subsequently obtained the appointment of political agent at Caubul, where his negotiations with the ex-ruler, Dost Mahomed, and his rupture with that chief, were made public under an order of the House of Commons. In these transactions the Court of Directors took no part; nor were we made acquainted officially with the projects of the Indian Government and their hostile preparations until an army was actually assembled

* On November 11, 1834, with reference to Lieut. Burnes, Mr. Tucker mentioned his application to be recommended to the appointment of agent at Caubul, or on the Indus, and gave it as his opinion that no such agency was necessary at present, and that he could not with propriety interfere with the local Government in selecting for public situations. Mr. Grant concurred entirely with respect to the inexpediency of appointing an agent at Caubul.

on the banks of the Sutlej for the invasion of Afghanistan. I was not, however (continued Mr. Tucker), inattentive to the proceedings abroad; and on the first intelligence reaching us of the military movement on our Western Frontier, I addressed a letter to an illustrious statesman, so far back as the 8th November, 1838, deprecating the policy which appeared to have led to that movement, and pointing out, in strong terms, the danger of prosecuting an enterprise against Afghanistan for the purpose of deposing the *de facto* ruler, and of substituting our pensioner, Shujah-ool-Moolk, in his place. As the papers were from time to time produced, I again addressed the same illustrious statesman, under date the 8th and 12th February, 1839; and I also addressed two other distinguished statesmen on the same subject, under date the 16th March and 3rd April following." The statesmen of whom Mr. Tucker here speaks were the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Ellenborough. It would be an injustice to the subject of this Memoir to withhold the remarkable letters to which he alludes:

"MR. TUCKER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"3, Upper Portland-place, 8th November, 1838.

"MY LORD DUKE,—The late military movements in India must, I am sure, have attracted your Grace's attention; and I will not therefore apologise for submitting some observations on a subject which is of the highest national interest.

"About five years ago, when I held the situation of Chairman of the Court, I ventured to urge an opinion that our concerns in Persia, in consequence of the position and movements of

Russia, had become an European, and not an Asiatic question—that it was impossible to meet and counteract Russia at Teheran—that we might lavish our money upon a weak and corrupt Court—but that we could not assist it with a military force sufficient to secure its independence as against Russia, whose armies were at hand; and that therefore our obvious policy was to operate upon Russia in *Europe*.

"I was also adverse to the project of establishing a mission at Caubul. The professed object was to extend our commerce with Central Asia by the Indus; but it appeared to me certain that our Agency would assume a political character, and that we should soon be mixed up in all the perplexed politics of the Afghans; and even if we should succeed in opening a commercial road through the Punjab, or otherwise, to Afghanistan, we should only make a *military* road from that country to Hindostan, which appeared to me to be by no means desirable.

"Your Grace is aware that, about this time, the Persian Embassy was transferred to his Majesty's Government, the East India Company undertaking to defray the charge, to the extent of 12,000*l.* per annum, while the idea of establishing an Agency at Caubul was for the time abandoned.

"But that which I had deprecated, and which it was my great object to prevent—a military movement from India—has now actually taken place; and, from certain indications, I am persuaded that it has taken place under orders from this country. The transfer of our Persian relations to his Majesty's Government has therefore, I apprehend, brought upon us the very evil which it was intended to prevent. The late Sir R. Grant would never, I am satisfied, have made that pitiful demonstration in the Persian Gulf without authority from hence, nor would Lord Auckland—who has shown great prudence in other instances—have embarked, I think, in so fearful an enterprise without express authority from home.

"The evil, then, originating *here*, it is only in this country that its progress can be arrested.

"In order to give your Grace some idea of the feeling which has been produced in India by our projected movements on our

North-Western frontier, I beg to enclose an extract from a late letter from a correspondent on the spot; and I will add a brief summary of what appear to me to be the facts of the case, and the position in which we have placed ourselves.

"1st. We have contracted an alliance with Shah Shujah, and have appointed a Minister to his Court; although he does not possess a rood of ground in Afghanistan, nor a rupee which he does not derive from our bounty as a quondam pensioner. We thus embroil ourselves in all the intricate and perplexed concerns of the Afghan tribes. We place Dost Mahomed, the *de facto* sovereign, in open hostility against us; we alienate the Prince Kamran of Herat, who is nearer than Shah Shujah in the line of succession of the Douranee Family; and even if we succeed in ousting Dost Mahomed, and placing Shah Shujah on the throne of Caubul, we must maintain him in the government by a large military force, at the distance of 800 miles from our frontier and our resources.

"2nd. If our army should succeed in penetrating into Afghanistan, our line of communication will be intercepted by the Punjab and Scinde, which in the course of events may become hostile to our proceedings.

"3rd. Our right flank is already menaced by the Nepaulese; our left is open to the Rajpoot States, who, I apprehend, are by no means well-disposed towards us; while our rear may be attacked by the Burmese, who are notoriously hostile. . . . . .

"The military demonstration on the coast of Persia is as much at variance with sound policy, as it is with political morality (for we are not at war with Persia), and I can compare it with nothing but our lamentable proceedings towards Holland and Spain. The movement on our North-Western frontier seems to have proceeded from the same source; *and it may involve us in much more serious consequences.*

"In fine, if some decided steps be not speedily taken for the purpose of averting *the evils which seem to impend over us*, we shall not long, I fear, be able to say that the sun never sets upon the dominions of Great Britain, or at least we shall not be able to say that its widely-extended possessions are the

source of strength, power, and prosperity to the parent country.—I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO MR. TUCKER.

"Strathfieldsaye, December 12th, 1838.

"My dear Sir,—I have received and perused with much interest your letter of the 8th of December, I conclude, but you have written it November.

"I had understood that the raising the siege of Herat was to be the signal for abandoning the expedition to the Indus. It will be very unfortunate if that intention should be altered. The consequence of crossing the Indus once to settle a government in Afghanistan, will be a perennial march into that country.

"The policy of the Persian Court has of course been influenced by its fears of Russian invasion. On the other hand, nothing was to be looked for from her Majesty's Government. I should think that the invasion by the Persian Gulf was carried on as a make-weight against Russian influence. This invasion certainly had an effect, and if I have not been misinformed, affected the Russian Government to a greater degree than anything else that could be done.

"I don't know that while the siege of Herat continued, particularly by the aid of Russian officers and troops, even in the form of deserters, the Government of India could have done otherwise than prepare for its defence. But I cannot understand the Afghan or Sikh policy. I don't think that Runjeet Singh, established on both sides of the Indus, is a safer neighbour than Zemaun Shah was. An emergency, such as an immediately expected invasion, might oblige a Government to take a course inconsistent with its ordinary political system; but when the danger is passed, we ought not to incur fresh risks in order to carry into execution a system which must eventually be inconvenient to us, and lead to fresh wars and expense.—I confess that I anxiously hope that the next accounts will bring us the report that the expedition is given up.—Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

"Wellington."

"MR. TUCKER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"8th February, 1839.

"My Lord Duke,—It was very satisfactory to me, and I believe to all who are interested in the welfare of India, to observe that both your Grace and Sir Robert Peel had called the particular attention of Parliament to the present state of our affairs in the East, for it is to Parliament only that we can now look for the means of overcoming our difficulties, and I may add, of averting our dangers.

"The Tripartite Treaty of Alliance concluded at Lahore, on the 20th June last, has been laid before our Court, and your Grace may like to run over it. A more extraordinary State Paper has never come under my notice. It is evidently of *Native* origin and character, having originated with Runjeet Singh, but we have made some fearful additions to it for his *sole benefit.* We undertake, in fact, to guarantee to him and his heirs all of his present possessions east of the Indus, including Cashmeer and Moultan, and a large tract of country on the right bank extending west to the Khibur Pass and south of the neighbourhood of Shikarpoor, including the valley of Peshawur, &c., &c. I cannot trace its range to the south exactly, for some of the places named are not to be found in the map.

"This treaty cannot fail to arm the whole Afghan nation against us, not excepting the great tribe of Durannies, nor even the clan of Suddozyes, to which Shujah-ool-Moolk himself belongs; and it will also, I fear, be regarded with an evil eye by the Ameers of Scinde and the Chief of Bhawulpore, for it places these chiefs entirely at the mercy of Runjeet Singh. In truth, the sole object of the treaty would seem to be to erect the Sikh state into a stronger barrier between us and the Mahomedan states of the west; but as the Afghans bear a most inveterate hatred towards the Sikhs, both as 'Kaffres,' as 'persecutors of the Faith,' and as invaders who have dismembered their territory,—I am persuaded that we could not have resorted to more effectual means to ruin the cause of Shujah-ool-Moolk, and to strengthen the government of Dost Mahomed, his opponent.

"The main army will halt, I have no doubt, for we are already, I suspect, alarmed here at our own work; but what will then become of Shujah-ool-Moolk's hasty levies, or of the small force under Sir John Keane? The advance of the latter, I apprehend, will be clandestinely obstructed, if not openly opposed by the Scindians, and the inhabitanst of the intervening country.

"If we had pushed forward Runjeet Singh, as the Russians have pushed forward Persia, I could have understood the policy of such a proceeding, although I might demur to the wisdom and justice of embroiling other nations in order to promote our own interests, or even to ward off an apprehended danger; but I cannot understand the policy of undertaking a burdensome and perilous war, for the purpose of aggrandising Runjeet Singh, whose armies, be it remembered, are under the direction of French officers.

"As the treaty is almost unintelligible by itself, I have given notice of motion for further papers explanatory of its origin, objects, and provisions. These will not be granted, I fear, at least not to the extent I require; and I shall therefore prepare to place on record a formal protest against our whole proceeding, from such materials as I can command.

"I would not trouble your Grace again on this subject, but I know that you take a warm interest in everything affecting the great interests of the country; and I am sure that you consider the well-being of India as comprehended in those great interests.

"I have not made any communication to Sir Robert Peel on this subject; but if the question should be first mooted in the House of Commons, where the Indian Minister is to be found, and I can furnish any information likely to be of use, I need scarcely say that I should be most happy to communicate it.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"I had sketched a brief analysis of the Tripartite Treaty; but as it is hasty and imperfect, I will not trouble your Grace

with it. As, however, my friend Mr. Edmonstone is much better authority in these matters, your Grace might like to see a private note written by him on the subject.

"His Grace the Duke of Wellington."

"MR. TUCKER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"February 12, 1839.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I have been favored with your Grace's note, and I regret that I cannot answer your question with any degree of certainty. In fact, the motion which I shall make to-morrow will have for its object to obtain information upon this and other branches of the question.

"There has, I have reason to believe, been a good deal of correspondence, through the Secret Committee, on this subject, with the Governor-General, and Lord Auckland's information has, I have no doubt, been obtained through Captain (now Sir Alexander) Burnes, who has been employed for some time in a political capacity at Caubul. I have seen several private letters from that officer, from which it appeared that a Russian agent had been received by Dost Mahomed, and had been carrying on very active intrigues for the purpose of engaging the State of Caubul to take part in a confederation against the British Government; but all this stands upon the authority of Sir A. Burnes, who represented that he was endeavoring to counteract this intrigue.

"Your Grace may recollect that Captain Burnes came to this country in 1834, with a view, as I had reason to believe, to induce the Home authorities, upon the recommendation of Lord W. Bentinck, to establish a commercial agency at Caubul, or upon the Indus. This proposition I strongly, and, for the time, successfully opposed, on the ground that a commercial agency would soon become a political agency, and be the means of involving us in all the perplexed affairs of the Afghans. The result has shown that I had but too much reason for my apprehensions; and I attribute mainly our late unfortunate alliances, and the war with which we are threatened, to our negotiations at Caubul, or rather, to our intermeddling in the affairs of that State.

"Your Grace will perceive, from the enclosed note from my friend Mr. Edmonstone, that he entertains great doubts with respect to our having any sufficient grounds for our connecting Russia and Persia with those occurrences which have led to our present hostile movement; but although Lord Auckland does not name Russia in his proclamation of the 1st of October last, it is quite evident that he points directly to that power, and that the treaty which he has entered into with Runjeet Singh and Shujah-ool-Moolk, was intended to create a barrier against the supposed designs of Persia and Russia.

"As your Grace appears to have paid such kind attention to my communications on this subject, I venture to submit for your perusal a brief analysis of the Tripartite Treaty of alliance lately concluded at Lahore; and you will perceive from this paper that, although unacquainted officially with the facts of the case, and with the causes of our present warlike proceeding, I have at least endeavored to trace out their probable consequences.

"The object of the treaty I think that I sufficiently understand; but I think, at the same time, that its policy is more than doubtful.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"I have notes of numerous conferences with the President of the Board in 1834 on the subject of our relations with Persia, and I invariably maintained, on those occasions, that our relations with that power, influenced as it was by Russia, constituted a European question, and that it was impossible for the Government of India to deal with it effectively.

"I urged, at the same time, the reasons which I have repeated in the papers before your Grace, against any attempt to form a political connexion with the State of Caubul; but even if it be admitted that such a connexion was desirable, very strong and obvious objections exist, I think, to our alliance with Shujah-ool-Moolk and Runjeet Singh."

"MR. TUCKER TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

"3, Upper Portland Place, 16th March, 1839.

"MY LORD,—I have been favored with your Lordship's note of yesterday, and beg to return my best thanks for the papers; but a copy of these precious documents was placed before the Court on Wednesday last, and I cannot consider the proceeding otherwise than as a mere mockery and insult to our understandings; for some of the treaties are twenty or thirty years of age, and have long been upon our open records. The rest have no bearing upon the present state of our political and military affairs in India.

"I have determined not to submit myself to this mockery, and I shall accordingly place my protest upon record without further delay; for I will not incur even the risk of responsibility by my silence.

"I have been in India under critical circumstances, but I have never had the same apprehension of danger as at the present moment. Your Lordship will perceive the feeling which prevails on the spot from the accompanying extract; but although there may be some exaggeration in the statement, it is corroborated in its leading features by the information which I receive from other quarters. I do hope that your Lordship and others, who really know India, will take some decided step. To know what is right, and to see what is wrong, without endeavoring to enforce the one and to avert the other, is to incur, I think, serious responsibility. We all deprecate the loss of Canada, as a national calamity; but what is Canada to our Eastern Empire?

"If things go on for another twelvemonth on their present footing, and under the present management, my impression is that the evil will be without remedy.

"We have been called upon to augment our European force, by adding ten men to each company; but these recruits will not be available in the field as soldiers for two years to come! This is in keeping with all our late operations.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough."

"MR. TUCKER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"3rd April, 1839.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been using my best efforts for some time past to call attention to the state of our affairs in India; but on my own proper ground these efforts have been attended with little or no success.

"It appears to me, however, that in society a greater interest has been shown of late in the state of India than I recollect to have observed at any former period; and I am willing to hope that this interest has extended itself to Parliament, where alone any question of national concernment can be treated with any prospect of advantage.

"I have, indeed, heard, and the report has afforded me particular satisfaction, that it is intended, at an early period, to bring the present state of our affairs in India fairly and fully under the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

"Papers have been called for, and some have been produced and printed; but they are in general mere '*extracts*' of letters, which do not afford a full and perfect relation of recent transactions.

"Much has been suppressed; and although there are strong reasons for believing that the late movements have been directed or encouraged from this country (in some instances, I suspect, by means of an extra-official correspondence), the whole responsibility attaching to measures of fearful importance would seem at present to be thrown upon the Governor-General of India.

"You must possess ample information with respect to India, and you can command, when necessary, the best assistance from the highest quarter; but it has occurred to me that the accompanying paper (which is the transcript of a letter addressed by me to the Court of Directors) may aid your inquiries in some slight degree, if it be intended (as I trust it is) to institute proceedings in Parliament, with a firm determination to examine thoroughly and unflinchingly into the present state of our affairs in India, and into the causes which have produced the existing embarrassment.

"In fact, if this be not done promptly, the rescue may come too late. Individual exertions can effect nothing in this country. Party combinations, aided by eloquence, can alone give an impulse and right direction to popular feeling, and in nothing is popular feeling so sluggish here as on subjects relating to India. Scarcely any question has excited a general interest since the Bill of 1784. The last Charter-Act passed with little opposition or notice, although it introduced some desperate innovations in the pre-existing system, both political and commercial.

"*Foreigners* understand the value of India to us. *We* do not. They have heretofore been compelled to admire our wise and self-denying policy. They now perceive our errors with a very complacent feeling, and they will probably exult in our humiliation, which they, no doubt, anticipate. The loss of Canada would be a misfortune. If the West Indies should become a worthless possession (no improbable event) this, too, must be regarded as a national calamity. But if our dominion in India should, unhappily, be shaken or endangered, what would be the fate of this empire, once so transcendently great and glorious? It would be as melancholy an object as Palmyra in the Desert!

"I have the honor to be,
"My dear Sir, &c., &c.,
"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Right Hon.
"Sir Robert Peel, Bart., &c. &c."

The answers which these stirring letters educed showed that the opinions which he so emphatically enunciated were shared by the statesmen whom he had addressed. "But," continued Mr. Tucker, in the Retrospect already quoted, "as it appeared that I should not by these appeals exonerate myself from responsibility as a Director, I was induced to address a letter to the Court, under date the 29th of

January, 1839,* in which I reviewed much in detail the grounds of the policy which had been adopted by the Government of India in the Tripartite Treaty of the 20th of June, 1838, and in the Proclamation of the Governor-General of the 1st of October of that year, and in which I also pointed out the consequences likely to result from the prosecution of so dangerous and so unjustifiable a policy. One of our colleagues (Sir Henry Willock) about the same time, from a high sense of public duty, pursued the same course, and addressed the Foreign Secretary on the subject; and as he was well acquainted with the country and with the character of the people, his opinions were entitled to great weight. I do not know how far our reasoning may have produced an effect; but the President of the Board called for and received a copy of my letter on the 6th of March; and I cannot doubt also that he received every necessary information to enable him to form a sound judgment, from the gentlemen who filled the Chairs of the Court at the time, and who

* This paper was "drawn up as a protest in consequence of Sir John Hobhouse having refused to place certain documents before the Court for their information." "Upon notice of motion, however," wrote Mr. Tucker to the Duke of Wellington on the 31st of January, "he yesterday furnished us with a copy of the treaty concluded by Lord Auckland, and my protest will not, therefore, be placed on record for the present. The subject will, however, be brought before the Court, as I conclude it must be also before Parliament." In the same letter Mr. Tucker says: "I am not one of those who would rush headlong into a war with Russia, but I would wish to see our Government pursue a more manly and straightforward course, and not fence in the dark with a power which we do not even venture to name. Such a state of things could not have occurred under ordinary circumstances, but we are now so entangled that I cannot perceive how we can advance with safety or retreat with honor."

were conversant with Indian affairs from a long residence in that country."

But whatever effect the reasoning of Mr. Tucker and Sir Henry Willock may have had upon the opinions of the Crown Ministers, it had none whatever upon their actions. In the East they pushed forward the war; and in the West they vigorously defended it. There was a brilliant dawn of delusive success; and for a time the eyes of the multitude were dazzled. But there were some far-seeing men, who saw clearly and said truly that success at the outset was necessary to the consummation of eventual failure—that our difficulties would commence just at the point where they seemed to terminate. The expedition into Afghanistan was, for a time, considered a master-stroke of diplomacy and a triumph of military enterprise. Lord Auckland was the greatest of statesmen; Lord Keane the greatest of soldiers; and Shah Soojah the most popular of monarchs. But the Protests which Mr. Tucker had recorded were not belied by the march of events.

The papers, in which he placed upon record his remonstrances against the dangerous course of policy which had been adopted by the Crown Ministers, were dated January 29 and April 12, 1839. They have already been laid before the public, and need not, therefore, be quoted here. Before the issue of events had proved the remarkable prescience by which these Protests were distinguished, the soundness of the reasoning, and the general

sagacity by which they were marked, no less than the manliness of their tone and the eloquence of their diction, had called forth the commendation of some of the greatest of English statesmen. And at a later period, one, who on such a subject as this was even more competent than Wellington, Peel, and Ellenborough to pronounce an authoritative opinion,* wrote to Mr. Tucker that he had read these papers, "not only with admiration, but almost with wonder, at the correct, complete, and prophetic view which they take of every part of the question connected with our Afghan mania." "You were one of the few," wrote the same great man, in another letter, "who condemned our mad policy in Afghanistan, when the world admired and applauded; and although you could not prevent it, your opposition to it will ever redound to your honor."

He *could* not prevent it. He saw the war run its course. He saw the initial triumphs, and the treacherous calm which succeeded them; but he was not deluded by the mask of success. Then he saw the storm gathering, and he was one of those who would have anticipated the failure which ere long was to be written in characters of blood, by leaving Shah Soojah to govern the country which we had restored to him, without the aid of his Feringhee allies. He was one of those who, when the storm burst over us, contended that it would be madness to endeavor to re-establish our influence

* Lord Metcalfe.

in Afghanistan; and that the sooner every British soldier could be withdrawn to our own side of the Indus the better for the stability of the British Empire in the East. And he was foremost amongst those who contended that, as the war had been undertaken for European purposes, under instructions from the Crown Ministers, without the sanction or even the cognisance, officially and collectively, of the Court of Directors, it was a great iniquity to throw the entire financial responsibility of the war on the shoulders of the East India Company. "It was no doubt very convenient," he said, "for his Majesty's Government to cast the whole burden of an enterprise directed against Russia on the finances of India, instead of sending a fleet into the Baltic or the Black Sea; but we are bound to resist the attempt to alienate and misapply the resources of India."

Such an unrighteous misapplication of the revenues of the country, which it was the especial duty of the Court to protect against all such unjust spoliation, he determined to resist; and his colleagues were leagued together in the same good work of resistance. In furtherance of this object, he proceeded to estimate the ascertained amount of war-charges which the expedition across the Indus had entailed upon the Indian Government; and then he enunciated the following undeniable propositions:

"1st. That Persia, having for some time prior to 1835 submitted to the influence of Russia, the political relations of the

British Government with the former country, constituted properly a European rather than an Asiatic question, and that it could only, therefore, be dealt with as such.

"2nd. That this assumption was admitted and acted upon by his Majesty's Government, who, on the 15th of January and 24th of February, 1835, entered into an arrangement with the Court of Directors, founded on these premises.

"3rd. That the Tripartite Treaty of the 20th of June, 1838, was contracted without the consent, or previous knowledge, of the Court of Directors; that the policy which dictated that treaty was neither sanctioned nor approved by them; and that they were not made acquainted with the obligations contracted by it until the 'Army of the Indus' was put in motion, under the Proclamation of the Governor-General of India of the 1st of October, 1838, for carrying the treaty into effect.

"4th. That an extraordinary expenditure has been incurred in the execution of the treaty, to the extent of not less than 8,000,000*l*. sterling,* which ought not to fall on the finances of India, the service having been undertaken as against *Russia*, and with a view to European objects and policy, and not for the protection of our Indian possessions or frontiers, which were never endangered, or even menaced, by an enemy.

"5th. That the East India Company having delivered up its commercial assets, amounting to fifteen millions sterling, for the purpose of being applied to the discharge of territorial debt, and for other territorial objects, and having been compelled to borrow large sums of money, amounting in the last year, 1841-42, to nearly three millions sterling, chiefly for the purpose of maintaining our footing in Afghanistan; its Administrators, the Court of Directors, are no longer in a condition to raise the necessary supplies to defray the Home Charges, the Interest of the Public Debt, and the Civil and Military expenses abroad, without aid from the National Government; and that, should it be judged necessary to put forth another expedition for the re-conquest of Afghanistan, the resources of

* The entire expenses of the war were subsequently ascertained to amount to 15,000,000*l*.

India will be found unequal to the enterprise. Money must be raised (if it can be raised at all in India) at an extravagant rate of interest; the public creditors will be seriously injured by the deterioration of the existing securities, bearing an interest of only four and five per cent. per annum; while the public finances will, it is to be apprehended, be reduced to a state of irretrievable disorder."

Then, having entered into the historical facts of the case in a retrospect, which I have already quoted, and emphatically repeated that "his Majesty's Government is solely and exclusively responsible for the expenditure which has been incurred, and for all the other consequences arising out of the occupation of Afghanistan," he proceeded to say:

"If these premises be correct (and it is not even pretended that we were willing instruments in the hands of his Majesty's Ministers), I would submit that the Court are entitled and are bound to claim indemnification from his Majesty's Government. The extraordinary charge incurred, and to be incurred, to the 30th of April, 1842, may be fairly estimated at eight millions sterling; and I would suggest, that in order to render it more easy for the National Government to provide for the demand, an annuity equal to the interest of that sum at 3½ per cent. (the rate which Consols now yield), or 266,000*l.*, be settled by Parliament on the East India Company; the amount to be applied, in the first instance, to augment the existing Guarantee Fund so far as to ensure its reaching its maximum of twelve millions within forty years from the date of the last Charter; and such annuity to be afterwards applied as a Sinking Fund for the security and ultimate redemption of the Public Debt of India.

"There is nothing extravagant or unreasonable in this claim; for the National Government must ultimately make up the Guarantee Fund to the sum of twelve millions, by the terms

of the Charter-Act; and when it is recollected that the Commercial Assets of the Company have realised 15,215,654*l.*, a large portion of which sum has been appropriated to the discharge of Territorial Debt, and other incumbrances, the Proprietors of East India Stock have just reason to expect, and to require, that their pecuniary interests be adequately secured and provided for.

"Prospectively, some extension of the arrangement may eventually become necessary; for if it be determined to send forth another expedition, on a larger scale, for the re-conquest of Afghanistan, the resources of India will be found absolutely unequal to the undertaking. We must go on borrowing at a high rate of interest, while the dividends of the Proprietors of East India Stock, and the interest payable to the public creditors, must be provided for by means of loans. This is a state of things which cannot long continue or be tolerated; and no man at all acquainted with India will be prepared to maintain that the extraordinary supplies required can be furnished by means of increased taxation on the already over-taxed people of India."

There was reason in all this—there was justice in all this: so much reason and so much justice, that the Crown Ministers, then being Conservative statesmen, and not themselves the authors of the war, made a show of considering the claims of the Company, and virtually, indeed, admitted their cogency. It need not, however, be said that nothing was done. The Court of Directors, true to themselves, true to the country whose resources had been thus lamentably wasted, pushed their claims with steadfastness and vigor. The Court of Proprietors made a demonstration in the same direction; and many truths were uttered—as truths often are uttered in that assembly—all to very little effect. The people

of India had paid the expenses of a war which, from first to last, had been a mystery to them—a war made for European purposes by the representatives of the English Government—and let the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors clamor as they might, not one sixpence was to be refunded.

Against this great injustice Mr. Tucker never ceased to protest. He well knew that there were no charges more often brought against the Government of the East India Company than that it wasted its resources on unprofitable wars, and was greedy of territorial aggrandisement. And here was a case, to be cited in all time, of a prodigious waste of public money drawn from the labor of the people of India—an expenditure of millions cast upon the waters to return to us in blood and tears. This war had been prosecuted by the agency of the armies of the East India Company, and maintained by their revenues. In the flush of its first success, the Crown Ministers, in Parliament and on the Hustings, had boasted of it as a master-stroke of policy redounding to the honor of the existing Cabinet; but when these boasted measures were clouded by disaster and disgrace, and it was found that millions of money had been expended only to bring about the most appalling catastrophe recorded in the annals of our Indian Empire, the whole responsibility of the war was cast upon the East India Company, and in spite of expostulations and remonstrances bearing the eternal stamp of justice upon them, the people of India were com-

pelled to pay the cost of the vagaries of Downing-street. Had the millions thus misapplied been suffered to remain in the Company's Treasury, for ordinary purposes of internal administration, placing at the disposal of the local authorities an increasing surplus, and so stimulating the benevolent energies of the Home Government, it is hard to say what blessings, in the shape of great reproductive agencies, might not have been conferred upon the people. But instead of this, throughout the greater part of the period embraced by the Charter-Act of 1834, the curse of a Deficit sate upon the arm of our Indian administrators, and paralysed their ameliorative efforts. That Deficit the Company owed primarily to the misdeeds of the Crown Ministers; and, secondarily, to the supineness of the Parliament of Great Britain, which took no account of these misdeeds. But the rare Justice which had squandered the revenues of India upon objects of European policy continued to pursue the East India Company. It was made a reproach to them that they had wasted the money drawn from the labor of the people upon profligate and impolitic wars; and because they had not done more good with this money, it was authoritatively decreed, by the Government which had spent it and the Parliament which had permitted the expenditure, that therefore the share of the Company in the future government should be diminished and the Ministerial element increased.

Such was the justice of the first charge against

the Company's Government, and the justice with which it was disposed of by the Government of the Crown. The second charge of which I have spoken of is, that the Company have proved themselves to be greedy of territory, and have unrighteously extended their dominions. A signal instance of this is to be found in the case of the appropriation of Scinde. Scarcely had Mr. Tucker ceased to protest against the iniquity of the Afghan invasion and the scandalous misappropriation of the Company's revenues which it involved, when he was disquieted by the announcement of the spoliation of Scinde. Lord Ellenborough having restored peace to Asia, and stamped the gratifying fact on a commemorative medal, immediately made war upon the Ameers of Scinde. These unhappy Princes, who might have wrought us grievous annoyance during the brilliant retributory operations of Pollock and Nott, and who, if they had really desired to compass our overthrow, exhibited in this juncture an extraordinary amount of forbearance, were known to be weak, and therefore they were declared to be hostile. Napier and his battalions were let loose upon them. With a signal display of courage worthy of a better cause, the British General, with greatly inferior numbers, flung himself upon the Belloochee host, and humbled the Talpoor Princes to the dust. There are some bright pages of military history in our annals of Eastern conquest which should be read apart from their political context; and this is one of them. The Ameers of Scinde were beaten

in battle; and their country proclaimed a British province.

This was one of those grievous wrongs which were sure to stir the heart of Mr. Tucker with measureless indignation, and to call forth from him no uncertain trumpet-sounds of expostulation and remonstrance. It may be stated here again, that, as a man, he was a stanch Tory. His political sympathies were all with the Conservative party. He had rejoiced in the return of Sir Robert Peel to office. He had recognised the great natural talents and the official diligence of Lord Ellenborough at the Board of Control, and believed that the appointment of that nobleman to the Governor-Generalship of India was to be hailed as an auspicious event—ominous of a reign of prosperity and peace. But as an East India Director he was of no party. He had denounced the invasion of Afghanistan and the deposition of Dost Mahomed; and he saw in the spoliation of Scinde a kindred act of injustice. The Court of Directors, to a man, were ranged upon the same side. I believe that a considerable majority of them at this time belonged to the Conservative party. But it is a distinguishing merit of the Government of the East India Company that its Directors shake the dust of faction off their feet when they pass the threshold of the great house in Leadenhall-street. They looked only at the injustice and impolicy of conquering and annexing a country, the rulers of which had in reality exercised singular forbearance under great provocation, and

the revenues of which could not be made to cover the cost of its administration and its defence. So at the end of August, 1843, they formally passed a resolution, declaring that, in their opinion, the proceedings adopted towards the Ameers of Scinde had been unjust and impolitic, and inconsistent with the true honor and interests of our Indian Government.

Before this, Mr. Tucker had placed upon record his opinions on the subject of the annexation of Scinde.* In spite of his strong Conservative leanings, and his disinclination to embarrass the Government of Sir Robert Peel, he had been active in calling for information relating to our proceedings against the Ameers, and had not scrupled to declare to the leader of the Conservative party that the unrighteousness of these proceedings had forced upon him a strong conviction that the Government of India was not in safe hands. In the beginning of June he wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Peel:

"TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

"1st June, 1843.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I believe that you know that I have long been an humble adherent of the Conservative body of which you are the distinguished leader, and that, to the utmost of my very slender means, I have, upon principle, advocated its cause and interests through good fortune and through bad fortune.

"But as a member of the Court of Directors I have certain duties imposed upon me, for the honest performance of which I am responsible to my constituents and to the country. I cannot believe that the Legislature intended to constitute us mere unmeaning cyphers; and, holding this opinion, I have

* See *Memorials of Indian Government*, pp. 313, *et seq.*

always acted, according to the best of my judgment, an independent part, as one of the administrators of our Indian affairs.

"I may venture to say to you, that wiser and better men than myself have, for some time, been of opinion that the Government of India is not at present in safe hands. I concur in this opinion; but I have been unwilling to act upon it hitherto, from a feeling that extremities ought to be avoided as long as possible.

"But the late transactions in Scinde have produced, unhappily, a crisis in our affairs; and I cannot refrain from taking an early part in inquiring into the conduct of our Governor abroad, without exposing myself to the charge of inconsistency, and to a suspicion that the part which I took on the occasion of the invasion of Afghanistan was dictated by party and factious motives.

"I have accordingly given notice of a motion for the production of the Scinde papers for the 7th of June; and I have sketched the grounds on which I propose to support this motion.

"If the papers be laid before the Court, I shall examine the case calmly and dispassionately, and endeavor to arrive at its real merits.

"If the papers be refused, I must work with my own materials, and place on record the result. I do not go so far as to say that, if the papers should not be given us, a presumption will arise that the Government cannot be justified, or defended; but I must think that an unfavorable impression will be produced by even their temporary suppression; nor will it be possible to prevent the case of the Ameers from being brought before the British public, sooner or later.

"If you should have any wish to see my Notes, a copy shall be immediately submitted for your perusal. They are founded on what is publicly known; for I have not thought it right to make use of any confidential communications on the subject, in the present stage of our proceedings.

"I have the honor to be, my dear Sir, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart."

Mr. Tucker hated secrecy. It was his opinion that the history of Indian Government was too much a sealed book—that truth and justice demanded a more general ventilation of Indian politics—and that out of the Secret Committee there should be no official secrets. The resolutions condemnatory of the annexation of Scinde were "secret" resolutions; but it was Mr. Tucker's opinion that they ought to be recorded upon the public proceedings of the Court, "it being contrary to usage and at variance with the constitution of the Court, acting under responsibility to other public authorities, to establish any Secret Department, or to withhold from the public records any secret resolution, or proceedings, beyond such reasonable period as can be justified, upon the ground that immediate publicity would seriously compromise the public interests." And in November, 1843, he had contemplated proposing a resolution to this effect; but he had been subsequently induced to withhold it. That, apart from every other consideration, such secrecy is injurious to the character of the Company's Government is not to be doubted. The conduct of the Court of Directors has in many instances been misunderstood and misrepresented; and they have submitted to these misunderstandings and misrepresentations with an amount of forbearance which appears to me mistaken in principle and unjustifiable in practice. A private individual may submit to be misrepresented—he may do good by stealth, if he will, and be accused of

doing evil, without rebutting the charge—he may determine to let calumny have its way and to live it down, without an effort to deprive it of its sting. But a Government has no right to indulge in a magnanimous forbearance of this kind. Its character is public property. It cannot be misrepresented without injury to the public. Every lie affecting the character of a great constitutional body is more or less a public calamity. If certain Native Princes are violently despoiled of their possessions, and their broad lands annexed to the territories of the East India Company, it should be known to the world whether it was or was not the greed of the Company that caused this extension of their empire. About such a matter as this, History should not go groping in the dark. How is it to be determined whether the Company ought expediently to be trusted with more or with less power, unless it is known what part they had in the furtherance or the resistance of measures which have cast a stain upon British policy in the East? These were the opinions of Mr. Tucker; and if he had lived to hear and to see what, during the discussions of 1853, was said and written about the Company's Government, he would have been strengthened in his conviction of their truth.*

* It was frequently said in my hearing that the Company *might* have objected to the annexation of Scinde, but that there was no proof of it before the world, and that people were not called upon to take for granted the truth of all vague assertions or obscure rumors on the subject. Others declared that if the Company had condemned, either before or after the fact, the unjust treatment of the Ameers of Scinde, they would have made it known to the world, and that the mere fact of their silence was presumptive evidence of their complicity in these foul transactions.

What Mr. Tucker, as an individual Director, wrote about the conquest and annexation of Scinde, is on record. What the Court of Directors did in their collective capacity, is not. I have only to do with the performances of the latter, in so far as they illustrate the sayings and doings of the subject of this Memoir. But even in this limited significance, the obscurity of which I have spoken is inconvenient and embarrassing. One secret makes many. If the Resolutions passed by the Court of Directors in August, 1843, with reference to the annexation of Scinde, were on record, they would throw much light upon the next subject which the Biographer of Henry St.George Tucker is called upon to illustrate. These Resolutions, relating only to our proceedings towards the Ameers of Scinde, were in effect a vote of want of confidence in Lord Ellenborough. There were other sources of complaint, but they were only petty tributary streams swelling the great flood of censure which set in against the unrighteous appropriation of the territories of Scinde. What they principally were may be gathered from Mr. Tucker's papers.* It is matter of history that Lord Ellenborough was recalled. That Mr. Tucker, some time before the measure was determined upon by the Court, had foreseen the necessity of it, has been shown. He had no prejudices against the man; he had greatly esteemed his many high qualities, which he now saw were those of one *capax imperii nisi imperassit*, and there was regret in the disappoint-

* See papers on the "Administration of Lord Ellenborough"—*Memorials of Indian Government*, pp. 339, *et seq.*

ment. He was attached to Lord Ellenborough's party; he was especially attached to some of his Lordship's chief supporters—the Duke of Wellington at their head—and so little could he have been influenced by those considerations which were untruly said at the time, more than anything else, to have moved the Court against him, that the very measure which called forth the remarks of the Governor-General provocative, it was said, of his recall, had been resolutely opposed by Mr. Tucker. But he was not one to be deterred by any feelings of personal regret from prosecuting his public duty.

Lord Ellenborough was recalled. The "gross indiscretion" of the East India Company was publicly stigmatised by the Crown Ministers; and every effort was made to wrap the whole question in an impenetrable fog, and set the public groping about in ignorance and perplexity. Mr. Tucker was for dragging it wholly into the clear light of day. In truth, it was a very simple and intelligible business; and they who had looked for highly-seasoned revelations would, if the whole history had been made public, have been greatly disappointed. There was, indeed, very little to reveal. The Court of Directors believed that the public interests would suffer by Lord Ellenborough's retention of the office of Governor-General, and therefore they recalled him. What Mr. Tucker believed would be the effects of the recall may be gathered from the following letter:

"MR. TUCKER TO LORD HEYTESBURY.

"29th April, 1844.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Throughout a long course of years, in good fortune and in adverse fortune, I have continued the steady adherent of the party which now constitutes the Government of this country, and to the utmost of my very humble means I have rendered it all the little service in my power, without receiving or seeking any recognition of those slender services. I have acted upon principle; and if I am compelled to place myself in opposition to those whose cause and interests I have been so long accustomed to advocate, my motives can scarcely be mistaken.

"But I have other duties and obligations imposed on me of a paramount character; and those duties I will endeavor honestly and fearlessly to fulfil.

"The Court of Directors are placed at this moment in a position of singular embarrassment; and I must think that the Government has placed itself, and the public service, in a position of extraordinary difficulty, which may have very serious results.

"The two co-ordinate Authorities entrusted with the administration of India, have been exhibited to Parliament and to the Public as directly opposed to each other upon a most important question. The judgment pronounced by twenty-nine independent and disinterested men (for such they are) acting under the sacred obligation of an oath, has been virtually denounced and condemned (most unhappily, as I think) by a Minister of the Crown in his place in Parliament, that Minister being perfectly aware that the question had undergone the most deliberate consideration during eight months, and that the Court of Directors were fully prepared to carry out and to justify their resolution.

"Again, we have the Governor-General of India placed in the very singular position of being condemned by one of the co-ordinate Authorities, while he is supported and publicly justified by the other. This state of things must inevitably produce inconvenience and embarrassment.

"The first result will be, that the Court of Directors will find it necessary to make an immediate appeal to their constituents, and through them to the British Public, in vindication of their proceedings. The whole of their correspondence with the Board and the Governor-General will be published; and a case will, I have no doubt, be made out fully to justify the recall of Lord Ellenborough.

"The second result may possibly be an appeal to Parliament, where we shall be able, I think, to show that the power entrusted to us by the Legislature was not granted in *ignorance*, as supposed by Lord Brougham—that the question of reserving a veto to the Government was discussed and abandoned—that any tampering with the existing law in Parliament would be a virtual infraction of the Charter—that the power entrusted to the Court has been wisely conferred—and that the absolute power to retain a Governor-General, the colleague or partisan of any Ministry, would establish a despotism in India, totally irreconcileable with constitutional principles, and with the public interests.

"We have temperately considered all which has been urged, or which perhaps can be urged, against our resolution; but we deduce inferences exactly the reverse of those which have been drawn.

"We are persuaded that the recall of Lord Ellenborough will go far to restore that confidence to the Princes and Chiefs of India, which his Lordship's aggressive policy (especially in Scinde) has had a direct tendency to destroy.

"That it will promote the re-establishment of peace in India; and may be expected to avert the calamities of new wars which are impending in different quarters.

"That it will enable us to place our recent acquisitions in Scinde on a more safe and satisfactory footing.

"That it may prevent the further disorganisation of the Native army.

"That it will show the people of the Continent and of the United States that the Government of this country is not identified with the unscrupulous and aggressive policy which has characterised the proceedings of the Governor-General.

"I could say a great deal more on the subject; but our case will be fully explained and enforced at the proper season, and I have the most firm conviction that we shall be supported by the Public.

"The Government paper of this morning has put forth a foul calumny, that the Court have been influenced by a corrupt feeling, originating in the Governor-General's economical reforms. Nothing could be more untrue—Lord Ellenborough has not effected any such reforms, although he has made innumerable changes, which are likely to occasion a great increase of charge; and if he had introduced such reforms, he would have received the cordial support of the Court, who can have no interest in any increase of expenditure.

"My seat in the Court is now of little or no value to me, and I care not how soon it may terminate; but while I hold it, I shall do my best to maintain the independence of the Body to which I belong, as well as what I believe to be the interests of the public service.

"And why do I address myself to your Lordship at the present moment on such a subject? Because I foresee public mischief, and because, well knowing your great prudence and patriotism, I think it possible that you may have an opportunity of averting that mischief.

"With this view, your Lordship is at full liberty to make any use you please of this letter.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c., most sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"Right Hon. Lord Heytesbury."

Perhaps, Mr. Tucker somewhat over-rated the calm and dispassionate judgment which he believed that Lord Heytesbury would bring to bear upon this important question. His Lordship was, perhaps, more of a party man than his friend suspected; and he was a devout follower of the Duke. At all events, the communication which Mr. Tucker

received in reply to the above earnest letter did not encourage him to open out his mind any further to his correspondent; so he wrote back the following brief rejoinder to Lord Heytesbury's reply:

"MR. TUCKER TO LORD HEYTESBURY.

"1st May, 1844.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have been favored with your Lordship's note of yesterday, and I have no wish to trouble you further on the subject, except to explain that I never contemplated for an instant the possibility of the Court retracing its steps. My anxious wish was to prevent, if possible, the Government from identifying itself, to an unnecessary extent, with the Governor-General, and from identifying its friends with its political opponents. This has now been done. We have been violently attacked; and as public men responsible for our acts, we must defend ourselves. That defence will lead us into a parallel line with those who are always ready to assail the Government. Few will deplore the possible consequences more than I shall do; but many, I apprehend, will have greater cause to deplore them.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"Right Hon. Lord Heytesbury."

The Company did not "retrace their steps"—Lord Ellenborough returned to England. But it was not thought expedient, now that the act of "indiscretion" had been committed, that there should be a public inquiry into its history. The Company had accomplished their main object; and the Right of Recall remained in their hands.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Tucker's Domestic Life—His Second Chairmanship—Appointment of Lord Dalhousie—Mr. Tucker's Farewell Address—Public Entertainments —Correspondence with Prince Waldemar of Prussia—Dinners to Lord Dalhousie and Lord Hardinge—Patronage—Official Duties.

It is time that I should cease, for a little space, from the records of these exciting political events, to speak again of Mr. Tucker's domestic life, and the repose which he enjoyed in the family circle. He had now numbered the allotted years of man. In 1840 he entered his seventieth year. But there was a long season of usefulness yet before him; and his strength was not labor and sorrow. He was in the enjoyment of excellent health; all his faculties were unimpaired; his memory was as perfect as in his youth; his intellect was in its fullest vigor; and an abundant flow of animal spirits, a perpetual cheerfulness of demeanor, rendered his companionship truly delightful even to the very young.

His home-life was a tranquil one. He was in the daily enjoyment of many blessings, and a perennial stream of thankfulness flowed from his heart. He had seen a large family grow up at his knees—a

dutiful, an affectionate, a united family. No heavier sorrow had thrown a shadow across his threshold for long years, than that which all must bear who send forth their sons to seek their fortunes in a strange land. One by one his boys had received his benediction and set their faces towards the East. But there was abundant compensation even in this. He knew that his absent children were treading steadily the appointed path; and that distance had little weakened the ties which bound them to the old homestead. He watched from a distance the career of his five sons, and rejoiced in the thought that he had contributed so many good workmen to the service of the State.

There were other children, too, left to brighten the fireside; and there was the beloved companion with whom he had climbed, hand-in-hand, the hill-side of life. Day after day he journeyed down to the India House, leaving his house in Upper Portland-place at an early hour of the morning, and returning in the afternoon but little exhausted by the labors of the day. He was not, as some men who are much engaged in public business, absorbed or distracted in the family circle. I have heard it said, that he gleamed into it like sunshine, and had a ready smile for the humblest of its members. He left the India House, with all its cares and contentions, behind him, and among his children was himself a child. Yet in his very playfulness there was something that inspired respect. He was dignified

without stateliness; and though he often unbent, he never descended.

He was in the enjoyment, too, of a moderate fortune—a fortune somewhat impaired by his excessive liberality—for he was at all times a cheerful giver, and there were many members of his family and many not of his family, who had profited largely by his bounty—but still sufficient for all his wants. With his temperate habits, his powers of self-denial, and his utter freedom from ostentation, he could have contented himself even with a humbler style of living; and at one time the education and equipment of his sons, and other extraordinary items of expenditure, having pressed heavily upon the sources of his income, he had it in serious contemplation to abandon his old home in Portland-place, and to seek elsewhere a humbler tenement. But it had happened that, at this juncture, his store was unexpectedly increased. Providence deals as largely in rewards and compensations as in retributions and revenges. To him who gives much, much often is given. It was meet that one whose self-denying generosity had been manifested so conspicuously throughout life—whose open hand had cheered so many households, should now in his turn be cheered by a gift as little anticipated by him as a shower of gold from heaven. In January, 1840, a near neighbour and a valued friend of Mr. Tucker—Mr. Anthony Brough—died, and bequeathed to him and his family legacies amounting in all to 10,000*l*. Nor

was this the only unexpected boon that enriched him in his declining years. At a somewhat later period, Mr. Andrew Maclew, who in early life had known Mr. Tucker in India, bequeathed to him another lakh of rupees, with legacies to all his daughters. Neither of these gentlemen was in any way connected with Mr. Tucker; nor were they beholden to him for any especial services. In both instances the gift was nothing more than a spontaneous tribute of respect for the character of the man.

A man neither prone to avarice nor to ambition, nor abandoned to luxurious living, may have rejoiced becomingly in these good gifts of Fortune; and, doubtless, they contributed to the happiness of the last years of Mr. Tucker's life. It was an abiding source of consolation to him to think that the house in which he had lived a score of happy years, and in which some of his beloved ones had first seen the light, would still, when it pleased God to remove him from the scene of his earthly labors, continue to shelter those whom he saw daily assembling at his board, and whom daily he commended to the love of that kind Providence which had done such great things for him. His cheerfulness and loving-kindness, indeed, were without stint or abatement. Increasing years seemed only to bring increasing joyousness of heart and increasing gaiety of manner. It was a calm, unclouded sunset which flushed all the household with light.

Few things have furnished to the literary essayist

pleasanter topics of discourse than the amusements of the wise, and there are few more delightful chapters in the biographies of the most loveable of great men, than those which represent the statesman or the philosopher, the poet or the divine, in his hours of relaxation. The greatest, indeed, have delighted in seasonable frivolities, and have come down, benignantly, from the stilts. It little matters what the diversion may be. It may be the flying of kites—or the blowing of bubbles—or the sending up of paper balloons—it may be a game of nine-pins or of push-pin—or it may be the swimming of little boats. No one respects a man less for these seasonable amenities; and every one loves him more. Mr. Tucker's favorite relaxation was of a more intellectual character than any I have here indicated. It consisted in the composition of poetical enigmas. And it was by no means a selfish amusement. For he read them aloud after dinner, to the infinite delight of his family circle, offering a reward to the first of his children who succeeded in supplying the required solution. Many and many a happy evening was thus spent, after the severer labors of the day were done; and nothing was ever more acceptable than the announcement that the *Sphinx* had something to reveal. Many of these enigmas were distinguished both by the ingenuity of the puzzle they contained and the elegance of the poetry which encased them. When in 1845-46 his quinquennial year of absence from the Court came round, and he had necessarily more leisure for the indulgence of

this harmless humor, he made a collection of these little pieces, and printed them for the amusement of his family circle and a few of his more intimate friends.

Though no man ever delighted more in the tranquil enjoyments of Home, or hungered less after extraneous excitements, he was one who, using the World as not abusing it, neither withheld himself from social intercourse, nor desired to see his children living the life of the Recluse. But that which was a distinguishing feature of his social character was a never-failing hospitality. His doors were opened freely to relatives and friends without regard for his own personal convenience. His house, indeed, was one of those elastic houses which are not unfitly called Family Hotels, and into which are sometimes crowded an assemblage of guests far beyond their legitimate capacity of accommodation. There was no sacrifice of individual comfort which he was not willing to make when there was any peculiar claim upon his hospitality. He converted his drawing-rooms into a sick-ward for the reception of an invalid lady whom the Faculty had pronounced incurable; and on another occasion received into his house a more perilous inmate, with only a distant claim of consanguinity upon him. And, in both cases, his kindness was rewarded by the unexpected recovery of his guests.

His humanity, indeed, was in all things conspicuous. He was tenderly compassionate of every description of human suffering, and did not, whilst

taking account of the more imposing misery of large classes of his brethren, overlook the humbler sorrows of individual sufferers who shivered at his own door. He watched with the deepest interest the progress of those great social questions which involved the physical and moral welfare of large masses of the working classes;* but he did not, whilst the cry of the Factory children was sounding in his ears, close his eyes to the appealing looks of the poor cross-sweeper who stood at the corner of the street.

Upon such traits of individual character it is a pleasure and a privilege to dwell—but I must return again to the India House, and revert to Mr. Tucker's public career. Though he had numbered nearly fourscore years, he was as regular in his visits to Leadenhall-street as in the early days of his connexion with the Court; and as indefatigable in his

* The Factory question, in all its branches, especially that which related to the limitation of the labor of women and children, excited his compassionate sympathies in no common degree; and he was zealous in his encouragement of Lord Ashley and others, who were forward at this time in the cause of humanity. The following letter, which he addressed to that nobleman, shows the deep interest which he took in the question:

"March 23, 1844.

"My dear Lord,—I hope I may be permitted to congratulate you on the triumph of humanity and justice—yes, and of wisdom and policy.

"We may be dazzled for a season by our victories in the field, but this is a triumph which will be registered where the record will endure for ever.

"I hope that your Lordship will, by-and-by, direct your views to a quarter where grievous wrongs are to be redressed, and where there is a noble field for the exercise of those qualities which are given us for the good of mankind.

"I have the honor to be, with great esteem,
"Your Lordship's most faithful,
"H. St.G. Tucker."

attention to business. Nor was it only the will that was present. The power remained with him unimpaired. He was as clear in all his conceptions; as tenacious of all the experiences of his long life; as methodical in the arrangement of his ideas; and both as vigorous and as perspicuous in his diction, as he had been twenty years before. Such, indeed, was the confidence which his colleagues reposed in his unimpaired administrative ability, that, at the age of seventy-five, he was invited by them again to occupy one of the Chairs. "You will be surprised," he wrote to one of his sons, on the 5th of May, 1846, "to hear of my undertaking the office of Deputy-Chairman at my advanced age; but I could not well avoid it; and so far I have not experienced any inconvenience from my extra labors. My health has been mercifully preserved to me, and should I continue to be blessed with it for a year or two longer, I may hope to perform my duties efficiently."*

It was not without some doubt and hesitation that he accepted the office. But as the colleagues who knew him best were the most eager to counsel his acceptance, and the strongest in their assurance that his occupation of the Chair would be advantageous to the interests of India, he made up his mind to sacrifice his private ease and convenience,

* His health was very good at this time: and he was profoundly thankful for this and all the other blessings that had been vouchsafed to him. "How mercifully have I not been dealt with!" he wrote in a private memorandum-book, under date of May, 1846. "How many blessings do I not enjoy! At seventy-five I have still health, and am capable of enjoying all the comforts of life. May I never forget, or cease to be humbly grateful to that gracious Power by whom all these blessings have been bestowed."

and again to become one of the stroke-oars of the Court. The only real objection to the arrangement was purely of a domestic kind. Mr. Tucker believed that if he were to take counsel with his family, although every member of it would in her inmost heart deplore his return to public life, not only because it would necessarily deprive her of so much of his beloved society, but because it might endanger his precious health, there might still be some reluctance,—knowing as all did what was his sense of public duty, to persuade him not to listen to the solicitations of his friends in the Direction. And, with characteristic generosity and refinement of feeling, he determined, therefore, to take the step, past revocation, without consulting any member of the family-party, that the entire responsibility of the step might be his own, and that, if any evil should result from it, there should be no self-reproach beyond the limits of his own breast. It was not until everything was concluded, that he announced in Portland-place his intention of again accepting the Chair.

In April, 1846, Mr. Tucker was, a second time, elected Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors; and in April, 1847, he was, a second time, elected Chairman of the Court.

Mr. Tucker's second Chairmanship was a less troublous one than his first—but it was not a less busy or a less important one. It happened that in the year 1847-48 an unusual amount of patronage fell into the hands of the Court; and that there

was an unwonted number of those public entertainments which draw together at the hospitable board of the Company so many of the most distinguished men of the age. During this year, not only was a new Governor appointed to the Bombay Presidency* and another to the Madras Presidency,† but it devolved also upon the East India Company to appoint a Governor-General in succession to Lord Hardinge, who, greatly to the regret of the Court, had announced his intention of laying down the reins of office. "Lord Dalhousie," wrote Mr. Tucker, in a letter dated the 26th of July, 1847, "is to be the new Governor-General, and Sir Henry Pottinger the new Governor of Madras. The papers say that these appointments were proposed *to* us by the Ministry; but the fact is, that they were proposed *by* us. There is only the difference of a preposition."

By Mr. Tucker, on whom, primarily as Chairman, the duty of selection descended, the responsibility was by no means lightly regarded; and it was a source of personal regret to him that the vacancy had occurred during his tenure of office. Writing to Lord Hardinge in May, he said, "No proposition has yet been made through me to the Court by her Majesty's Government; and I do believe that a hope is still entertained that your Lordship will continue at your post. I have a selfish feeling on this subject, for a change may involve me in great difficulty. I consider the selection for the office of

* Lord Falkland. † Sir Henry Pottinger.

Governor-General to impose a sacred duty. The well-being of millions may depend upon this selection, and the public interests may be seriously affected by it. This is not mere speculation. To my infinite annoyance I was on a former occasion compelled to oppose an arrangement in which I could not honestly concur; and it would be an instance of extraordinary bad fortune (which I should most earnestly deprecate) if I should, a second time, be placed in the same embarrassing position. I can only hope for the best; and resolve to do *my* best."

And, doubtless, he *did* his best, when, in conjunction with the Court, he recommended Lord Dalhousie for the high office of Governor-General of India. There was fortunately on this occasion no difference of opinion between the authorities of the Company and of the Crown. The appointment was one of those felicitous ones which evoke no conflict of interests, and scarcely excite any antagonism of opinion. It was approved in England; it was approved in India. Lord Dalhousie was known to be a man of unstained reputation and uncommon ability; sedulous in his attention to business, and energetic without extravagance. It was believed that he would prove to be at once a vigorous and a safe ruler—one who knew when action was required and when repose; one equal to the necessities of stirring times, but not eager to create them. And it was mainly because moderation was esteemed to be a distinguishing feature of his character that Mr. Tucker gave him his confidence without stint.

It is one of the duties of the Chairman of the Court of Directors to deliver a parting admonitory address to every newly-appointed Governor. In these addresses the same leading principles are necessarily inculcated on all occasions; and there are certain stereotyped forms of expression, honored by long usage, which one Chairman after another is necessitated to use, for they are indispensable to the completeness of the oration. By the departing statesman these valedictory harangues are generally received as matters of course, and the exhortations they contain not seldom whistled to the wind on emerging into the outer air of Leadenhall-street. On the occasion of which I am now writing, it is probable that all that Mr. Tucker had to say had been said more minutely and more emphatically in private, and that he now only embodied his foregone admonitions in more formal and stately periods. Lord Dalhousie had visited the venerable Chairman in his own private room at the India House, and had shown himself eager to profit by the experience of one who had been a ripe Indian statesman before the youthful Governor-General had been born. It is easy to divine what those lessons were. It is no part of my duty to inquire how far they have been regarded.

The formality of the valedictory address is followed by the festivity of the Farewell Banquet. When the Governor Elect has been instructed and admonished in Leadenhall-street he is sumptuously feasted and flattered in the coterminous street of Bishops-

gate; and then it is well that he should speedily embark. The entertainment to Lord Dalhousie was not the first at which Mr. Tucker had presided since he succeeded to the Chairmanship in April. In July, 1847, he had welcomed home some of the distinguished soldiers who had taken a conspicuous part in the recent campaigns on the Punjabee frontier. At this entertainment Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who had earned for himself a right to be classed among the heroes of the Sutlej, was an honored guest. This was one of many features which rendered the Banquet a remarkable one, not easily to be effaced from the memory of those who took part in the festivities of the evening. There was something in the open, ingenuous character of the young Prince that drew Mr. Tucker's heart towards him; and there were few in this country who more sincerely lamented the premature close of his career than the venerable statesman who had entertained him, with so much geniality, at the London Tavern.

The feelings of kindness and respect between them were, indeed, reciprocal. It will somewhat interrupt the narrative to introduce in this place the following letters, which they interchanged some months after their meeting in the City Banqueting-room—but the interruption will be readily forgiven. They call for no introduction and no comment:

"MR. TUCKER TO PRINCE WALDEMAR OF PRUSSIA.

"East India House, 18th March, 1848.

"MY MUCH ESTEEMED PRINCE,—I have been honored with your Royal Highness's letter of the 29th ult.; and I beg to

tender my respectful and warm acknowledgments for your R.H.'s kind recollection of my request to be favored with autographs of the Royal Family of Prussia; and I can assure your R.H. that those which you have kindly sent will be highly valued by my daughters, who will consider them a very interesting addition to their collection. . . . .

"Your Royal Highness will, I am sure, be glad to hear of the safe arrival of Lord Hardinge in this country, in excellent health and spirits. The Court of Directors give the noble Lord an entertainment on Wednesday, the 5th of April; and if Berlin were a little nearer to us, I should earnestly entreat your R.H. to join your companions in arms on this occasion; and to impart additional lustre to the compliment which we propose to pay his Lordship on the occasion of his return. In that case, I should enjoy the very great gratification of having to present your R.H., and your personal staff, with the Sutlej Medals, which we expect to have ready for distribution in the course of a very few days.

"I pray Heaven for the peace of Germany, and for the continued prosperity of your Royal Highness's illustrious House.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration and respect,

"Your Royal Highness's most faithful servant,

"H. St.George Tucker.

"To his Royal Highness
"Prince Waldemar of Prussia, &c., &c."

"PRINCE WALDEMAR TO MR. TUCKER.

"Berlin, 28th April, 1848.

"My dear Mr. Tucker,—It was impossible for me to find a quiet moment, in the troublesome and excited state in which we are thrown in our heretofore peaceful Germany, to fulfil my warm desire, and to express to you earlier my feelings of gratitude for the remittance of the Sutlej Medals. I can assure you that we all whom you kindly decorated with it are proud to wear this present, given as a remembrance of a for-ever-glorious campaign, where British valor manifested its renowned fame, and

where we Prussians were lucky enough to witness the invincibility of our old allies. It is my sincerest wish that this friendly understanding between our two nations, which are connected by ties of relationship, may never be interrupted on account of their mutual welfare, which is more uncertain than ever in these times.

"I take this opportunity, dear Sir, to offer you my best thanks for your amiable letter of the 18th ult. I hope you will preserve your kindly feelings towards me, as I can assure you that I still remember with gratitude your personal complaisance with which you treated me during my stay in London, as much as the very distinguished manner with which I was received in the East India House—a very gratifying moment of my life, for which I have also to be thankful to you.

"I remain, dear Sir, with these feelings of gratitude, for ever

"Yours,

"WALDEMAR, PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

In all its outer accidents and environments the great Dinner to Lord Dalhousie on the 4th of November, 1847, was much like any other dinner of the same kind. There was the usual supply of turtle and venison—of cold punch and Champagne—the usual assemblage of my Lords and Gentlemen, including many of the greatest statesmen and the greatest soldiers of the age—the usual vociferations of Mr. Toole, the Toast-master, and the usual after-dinner addresses. It is seldom given to man to enjoy better dinners or pleasanter parties than these—for not only are the good things of the world abundant, but there is an abundance of ready hands to dispense them: there is a multitude of guests and no crowd; dignity without restraint, and cordiality with all

decorum. There is the excitement of a public entertainment with the comfort of a private party. And in all these pleasant characteristics the dinner to Lord Dalhousie differed little from those which have preceded or which have followed it. Neither outwardly was there much difference in the demeanor of the Chairman. The wonted geniality scintillated in all his speeches. He spoke with the same earnestness—with the same impressiveness as he had done on former occasions. But the day had been to him one of severest trial.

A short time before, one of Mr. Tucker's sons—a civilian on the Bengal establishment—had been thrown from his horse, with fearful violence, against the portico of a friend's house. His head had come in contact with one of the pillars, and he had since been lying between life and death at the Mofussil station, where the accident had occurred—that very station of Gyah, where Mr. Tucker's first Indian experiences had been gathered. This sad intelligence had reached him by a preceding mail; and it so happened that on the very morning of the great entertainment to Lord Dalhousie, the arrival of another overland despatch—the despatch by which Mr. Tucker expected to receive tidings either of his son's death or of his recovery—was announced at the India House. The forenoon was passed in painful suspense, and yet in necessary activity. The letters had not yet been delivered. The pressure on the father's heart was almost intolerable; but there was much work to be done—much for which prepa-

ration was to be made—and Mr. Tucker's wonted firmness and self-control did not desert him. He did all that it behoved him to do, and then waited the arrival of the letters.

In the course of the day they were delivered. There was not one in his son's handwriting. Tremulously anticipating the worst, Mr. Tucker opened the first that presented itself to him—and a little note fell from it. It was written by his boy. The enclosure was from the medical officer who had attended him—announcing that so great an improvement had taken place that the invalid would be speedily enabled to proceed to Calcutta for the purpose of embarking for England. The weight which had pressed so heavily on Mr. Tucker's heart was now removed; and it beat freely with exultation and gratitude. But there is always something enervating and unhinging in such reactions. It is a strong mind the equilibrium of which is not disturbed by such shocks as this. But with all the tender-heartedness of a woman, Mr. Tucker had an habitual self-command truly heroic; and he now held his feelings in subjection to his will. He went through his appointed duties with composure—delivered the valedictory address at the India House, and presided at the complimentary Banquet at the London Tavern as though he had not a few hours before been in tremulous expectancy of receiving intelligence of the death of a beloved son.

In the spring of the following year, just before his retirement from the Chair, he twice again presided

at the public entertainments of the East India Company. The first of these was a farewell dinner to Lord Falkland, who was about to proceed as Governor to Bombay. The second was a congratulatory Banquet to Lord Hardinge, on the occasion of his return from India. This was on many accounts a remarkable gathering—and it was the last one at which Mr. Tucker ever presided. It may be said that on this 5th of April, 1848, he took his leave of the Public. Of Lord Hardinge he had ever been a steady admirer and consistent supporter. There was not, perhaps in the whole kingdom, a man with a sincerer love of Peace—not one who despised and condemned, with a more sovereign contempt and a more vital abhorrence, those traders in War, who make for themselves the occasion of battle, and smite either for the love of smiting, or for the rewards that Victory brings. He had no toleration for the cruel or the ambitious soldier; but he saw in Lord Hardinge one neither cruel nor ambitious—one who had kept the sword in the scabbard as long as it could be kept there with safety and with honor—one who had been slow to strike, but who had struck, in self-defence, bravely and well, and who, in the hour of conquest, had exercised a forbearance as conspicuous as his gallantry in the field. He saw in Lord Hardinge a great soldier, with whom courage and clemency, success and moderation, went hand in hand; and he honored the man who, amidst so much to dazzle and to disturb, could still possess himself in steadfastness of soul.

What, therefore, on this occasion, Mr. Tucker said in praise of Lord Hardinge, he said from the full heart; and he said it, too, with an enlarged satisfaction, because he spoke in the presence of the foremost soldier of the age. The Duke of Wellington had accepted the invitation of the Company, and had attended to do honor to one of the most esteemed and beloved of his Lieutenants. He had not partaken of the hospitality of the Company since they had incurred his displeasure by the recall of Lord Ellenborough*—but now his animosity seemed to have passed away, and he met Mr. Tucker with even more than his old cordiality, extending both his hands to greet the Chairman, and eagerly inquiring after his health. This was not one of the least of the circumstances which on that evening stirred Mr. Tucker's heart with grateful emotions. He knew that the displeasure of the great Duke was unreasonable and unjust; but although he never regretted the cause of it, he could not help lamenting the effect.

But there was a shady side to the picture, too. This, as I have said, was Mr. Tucker's last appearance, in a prominent position, before the Public. It may be said, indeed, although his career of official usefulness was not at an end, that he then virtually bade farewell to Public Life. When Sir John Hobhouse, as President of the Board of Control, pro-

* On the occasion of the Farewell Entertainment to Lord Dalhousie, the Duke had accepted the invitation, but had not attended the dinner. This, however, did not prevent Mr. Tucker from proposing his health, with all warmth of heart and fervency of manner.

posed the health of Mr. Tucker and the Court, the venerable Chairman replied: "I accept the compliment which has been offered on the part of the Court of Directors, whose organ, on this occasion, I have the honor to be. But I am only the Pageant of a day; and after having fretted my little hour I must disappear. If, however, I may be allowed to appropriate any part of the compliment, I must assign it to its true source. I had the good fortune, in the early days of my boyhood, to enjoy a pure atmosphere. I first served under the great and good Lord Cornwallis, who was the perfect personification of disinterestedness and patriotism. He steadily enforced the principles of justice; he saw no object but the honor and interests of his country. I had also the good fortune to be patronised by the late Sir William Jones, whose genius seemed to soar above this lower world, and whose love of constitutional liberty, and whose devotion to literature, impressed me with a feeling which I have carried through life. To these estimable men be assigned the merit of anything which I have been fortunate enough to accomplish. And now, my Lords and Gentlemen who know me not, and whom I have had the honor of seeing probably for the last time, I bid you a respectful Farewell. To my colleagues, friends, and companions, who do know me, I would say, farewell till we meet again.

" 'Inveni portum, Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Sat me ludistis, ludite nunc alios.'

" 'I've reached the haven—Fortune, Hope adieu,
Let others now the slippery path pursue.' "

But although it may be said that in these words he took farewell of the larger outside circle of the Public, there was still a season of continued usefulness remaining before him; his work, indeed, was not yet done. I have hitherto only spoken in this chapter of those circumstances, arising out of Mr. Tucker's second tenure of office as Chairman of the East India Company, which brought him prominently before the Public. But it is not of these public appearances that the Chairman-life of an East India Director is made up; all this, as Mr. Tucker said, is but the pageantry of the hour. There is a solid reality about it, far beyond the scope of farewell addresses to Governor-Generals, or complimentary after-dinner harangues. And Mr. Tucker, at least, was not one to suffer his office to degenerate into a sham.

He was, indeed, very tenacious of the character of the Court, and on all occasions asserted its rights and upheld its dignity. To the very last he protested against the encroachments of the Board of Control. At one of the public entertainments to which reference has been made, Sir John Hobhouse, who had long presided at that Board, on proposing Mr. Tucker's health, had said: "A more conscientious, a more zealous, a more vigilant guardian of the interests entrusted to him could not exist;" and had added, that although "allusion had been made to differences that might arise in the conduct of affairs between the two authorities, he could only say, that if these quarrels were between them, they were

lovers' quarrels, which only ended in the renewal of love." But the real state of affairs is not to be judged of by these post-prandial amenities. Doubtless, the intercourse between them was maintained without the smallest leaven of personal animosity on either side. They were both of them far above the littleness of suffering any feelings of private resentment to enter into the official conflicts which occasionally arose. These were simply conflicts between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control; and it was in the course of one of them that Mr. Tucker wrote to Sir John Hobhouse that he could not bring himself to believe that it was the intention of the Legislature, that in the Secret Committee the representatives of the East India Company should be reduced to a mere nullity, and suffered only to perform ministerial duties which could as well be executed by "a secretary or a seal."

That each statesman conscientiously pursued the course of official conduct that seemed to him best calculated to advance the public interests, is not to be doubted. But there was much conflict of opinion; and it appears to me, that when the two authorities came into actual collision, as they sometimes did, there was unconstitutional encroachment on the side of the Board, constitutional resistance on the side of the Company. Thus, on one occasion, the Board cancelled in a letter which the Court had addressed to one of the local Governments, a passage ordering the dismissal of one of their servants—an officer of the Indian navy. That the Court of Directors were

invested by law with the power of dismissing their own servants, is not to be questioned. They had authority to dismiss a Governor-General—and authority to dismiss a naval lieutenant. Any attempt to interfere with this authority was clearly contrary to law; and Mr. Tucker, when he resisted it, as Chairman of the Company, did only what he was bound to do in defence of the independence of the Court. As an individual Director he had opposed the measure in question; but as the organ of the Court it was his duty to enforce it, whatever might be the decree of the Board.

This is given merely as an illustration of the manner in which the two authorities were sometimes brought into collision; but there were more important differences of opinion regarding the general functions of the Secret Committee and the intent of its organisation. Upon this subject Sir John Hobhouse and Mr. Tucker were hopelessly at variance. The former regarded the Secret Committee as a mere sham; and determined to keep it so. He thought that there was little use in personal conferences between the President of the Board of Control and the "Chairs" of the East India Company; and insisted that, although the latter might relieve themselves, if they pleased, by writing Dissents or Protests in their own houses, for their own comfort or convenience, they had no power to record them, and no right to claim for them the distinction of being regarded as public documents. He described the system of writing

and recording minutes at the India House as an inconvenient practice, which encouraged controversy, retarded public business, and perpetuated disunion; and declared that if he could do away with this bad Indian habit, he would do so to-morrow. From all of this Mr. Tucker emphatically dissented. He asserted his belief that personal explanations had sometimes removed difficulties, and enabled the two authorities to carry on the public business with more expedition, and in a more satisfactory manner, than might otherwise have been practicable; and so far from regarding the system of recording minutes as a mischievous one, he earnestly declared that the greatest consolation he had enjoyed, or could enjoy, as a public servant, arose from the reflection that he had placed on record his sentiments and forewarning on the Afghan question, the Scinde question, the Resumption of Rent-free Tenures, the Extension of the Opium Monopoly, &c. That the practice of recording the dissents of the Secret Committee might have been inconvenient to the Crown Ministers, is not to be doubted; but that was hardly the question at issue, nor could Mr. Tucker so regard it. But irreconcileable as was the difference of opinion between the two statesmen, the utmost courtesy and kindness was maintained in all their relations with one another; and one of the last letters which Mr. Tucker wrote to the President of the India Board, before quitting the Chair in 1848, he concluded by saying: "My time is now short; and in six weeks I shall be relieved from a

charge, which in many respects has been irksome to me, although I am very far from including my intercourse with you among the disagreeables. On the contrary, it has been the source of satisfaction to me."

Something, too, may be said in this place about Mr. Tucker's distribution of his patronage. Much has been written and spoken, at divers times and in divers places, about the nepotism of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The *corpus delicti* appears to be this, that having every year a few writerships and a considerable number of cadetships, besides a certain number of appointments in the medical and clerical services at their disposal, they provide, out of this fund, for their children, or grandchildren—and for a few more remote connexions. But I have never been able to discern, in this, anything discreditable to the Directors themselves, or disadvantageous to the public interests. It may be assumed, in the first place, that it was the intent of the Legislature, which fixed the salary of an East India Director at an amount below the sum apportioned to a junior clerk in the India House, that the patronage of the Company should, in some sort, be considered as the perquisites of office. But setting aside this consideration altogether, it appears that the department of Government, the chiefs of which do not distribute the patronage at their disposal among their own friends, is yet to be discovered. And there is this remarkable difference between the distributors of English and Indian patronage, that whereas the tenure of office by a

Crown Minister is always more or less precarious, an East India Director is elected for life. He is not, therefore, under the necessity of grasping everything within his reach whilst the sunshine of place and possession is beaming upon him, lest some stray gust of popular caprice should suddenly blow him back into private life. Mr. Tucker, for example, held his place at the India House for a quarter of a century. During that period he sent out five sons to India in the Company's service; and he provided for some collateral relatives. Now, there is this advantage in the India House system, that however much a Director may be given to nepotism, the *nepotes* are never so numerous as not to leave a large surplusage of patronage to be distributed among applicants whose claims are mainly of a public character. That every Director gives away a considerable number of appointments solely on these public grounds is not to be questioned. They who are best acquainted with the secrets of the India House are best prepared to depose confidently to the fact.

But, on the other hand, it is not to be doubted that the claims of some applicants are advanced in vain. I do not know that it is peculiar to the India House that petitioners—and worthy ones, too—are sometimes sent empty away. But I believe that there is no public building in the country where so much time is spent by the dispensers of patronage in listening to and sifting such claims, and that no official men are, on the whole, so patient and so courteous. The Chairman of the Court of Directors,

who is supposed to be the representative of the Court, and to exercise a sort of general power over its patronage—to be the depositary, indeed, of all kinds of rich gifts, and the target at which all sorts of complaints may be rightfully levelled—day after day devotes a large portion of his time to the reception of these petitioners. He and his Deputy have a double share of patronage at their disposal; but the number of appointments in their gift bears but a small proportion to the number of applicants, and there must necessarily be many refusals. This was the most painful part of Mr. Tucker's duties; as I doubt not it was and is of all his colleagues who have occupied the Chair. But he was accessible to all comers; he received them with ready courtesy, and when compelled to return a refusal, was careful that it should be a kindly one. It has been said of him, indeed, as it was said of Marlborough, that "he could refuse more gracefully than other people could grant, and those who went away from him the most dissatisfied as to the substance of their business, were yet personally charmed with him, and in some degree comforted by his manner."

It was his privilege, however, to distribute no small share of his patronage beyond the circle of his own private friends, and largely to elicit, by these bestowals, the gratitude of the widow and the orphan. As years advanced, he became increasingly solicitous about the right appropriation of the appointments in his gift. The dispensation of his clerical patronage had always been a matter of anxiety to him; for

he conscientiously recognised the greatness of the responsibility it involved. During his first Chairmanship he had placed two Indian chaplaincies at the disposal of the Chancellor of Oxford—then the Duke of Wellington—and now he made a similar offering to Cambridge, through the Chancellor, Prince Albert:

"TO H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, &c., &c.

"East India House, 16th December, 1847.

"SIR,—When, on a former occasion, I had the honor of holding my present station as Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, I was induced to solicit his Grace the Duke of Wellington, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to do me the favor to present from among the members of that University two clergymen for the appointment of Chaplain on the Indian Establishment. I was desirous on this occasion to testify my personal respect for his Grace, as well as my respect for the University, and to feel satisfied that individuals would be selected for the sacred office who would do credit to the nomination, and who would be found useful and respectable members of the service.

"Upon similar considerations I am induced to solicit that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to present from the University of Cambridge two of its members for the appointment of Assistant-Chaplain at the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras; and in making this request, I may be permitted to express my hope that it will be graciously received as a testimony of my great respect for your Royal Highness, and for the University over which you preside.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and deference, your Royal Highness's most faithful servant,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER.

"To H.R.H. Prince Albert, &c., &c."

Some years before he had offered a cadetship to Sir Robert Peel, on the occasion of his election as Rector of the Glasgow University, to be given to one of the students of that Institution. The letter in which he tendered the appointment is so characteristic of the writer, that the retrospect will be forgiven:

"MR. TUCKER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"East India House, 17th January, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The youth of Glasgow are worthy of all honor; and I regard your recent visit to that city as the most auspicious event which has occurred for some time—an event which I hail with joy and hope, as the harbinger of our country's deliverance.

"It has occurred to me that you would feel pleasure in having an opportunity of providing for one of these public-spirited young men; and I, in consequence, take the liberty of placing at your disposal a nomination to the —— service of India.

"I should, perhaps, feel some hesitation in taking this step if I had anything to ask, and if you were the dispenser of favor; but my motives cannot, I think, be mistaken. I am too old for ambition, and too young, I hope, for avarice; even if you were in a situation to gratify these passions.

"With the most fervent wishes for your complete success in the glorious course which you have undertaken, I have the honor to be,

"Dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

"H. ST.G. TUCKER."

The offer, however, was not accepted. Sir Robert Peel's answer was full of courtesy and kindness, but he said that he was not personally acquainted with a single student in the University, and that he knew

no public object that was to be gained by his holding the appointment in his gift.* Whether it did not occur to him that it might be placed at the disposal of the Collegiate authorities for purposes of public competition, or whether he was not sufficiently enlightened to recognise the expediency of such a mode of dispensing the Company's patronage, I do not pretend to know.

Ten years afterwards, Mr. Tucker declared his willingness to place at the disposal of the Governor-General an Assistant-Surgeoncy, to be given to one of the native students of the Medical College of Calcutta. "The question," he wrote to Lord Dalhousie, in November, 1847, "of their eligibility to appointments in the regular branch of the service has not yet been mooted, but I will consult my colleagues on this question at our next meeting, and if it should be considered that they can, without objection, be introduced into the Medical service as Assistant-Surgeons, I shall be happy to place a nomination for one of them at your Lordship's disposal. One of the greatest benefits, in my opinion, which we have yet conferred on the people of India, is the introduction of medical science among them, and the dissipation

* The passage in which this is stated is worthy of insertion here:—"I feel much obliged by your kind consideration, and assure you with perfect sincerity that I should not hesitate a moment in availing myself of the kind offer which accompanies your letter, if I could do so with advantage. But I literally was not personally acquainted with any one student at Glasgow when they elected me, and I have therefore no private and personal wish to gratify by profiting by your kind consideration. . . . . Having, therefore, no personal wish to gratify, and fearing no public object would be advanced by my availing myself of your generosity, I return to you the enclosed, with thanks as sincere and cordial as if I had been enabled to make use of it."

of their prejudice against anatomical operations." But the Court, after mature deliberation, were of opinion, that the appointment of these native students to the covenanted branch of the service would be attended with much public inconvenience. The decision was severely criticised out of doors; and many arguments, theoretically sound, were adduced against the exclusion of the native students. But there were practical considerations weighing heavily on the other side; and they who were best acquainted with the nature of the Service to which it was proposed to attach these deserving youths, and the character of the duties to be performed by them, believed that both the welfare of the students themselves, and the interests of the public, would be best promoted by effectually providing for them as medical practitioners without giving them military commissions.*

The activity of Mr. Tucker at this period was great. There was scarcely a subject connected, in any way, with the Government of India, from the cultivation of cotton and sugar† to the officering

* With reference to the subject of Mr. Tucker's patronage, the reader may advantageously turn back to a letter given at page 482, in which the writer says: "I have determined to apply my extra patronage as Chairman, to provide for the sons and relations of meritorious officers in his Majesty's and our own service."

† See, on the subject of Cotton Cultivation, letter to Mr. Thomason, given in the following chapter; and letters to Mr. Cornewall Lewis and Mr. Thomason, in *Memorials of Indian Government* (page 177). In one of the latter Mr. Tucker says: "It is singular that I should, at this late period, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, be pursuing an object which attracted my attention as a boy, whilst residing in the Hurriaul Aurung, in the district of Rajashaye." To the kindred topic of Indian Sugar reference is made in Chapter XX. Some excellent remarks, written in 1848, on the want of sympathy between the European officer and the native soldier, will be found in Mr. Tucker's *Memorials* (pp. 93, *et seq.*).

of the native army, to the elucidation of which he did not apply himself with all the energy and ability of his youth. Some of his most valuable papers were written about this time. Nor was it only in the minutes which bear his name that the results of his intellectual activity were apparent. The rough drafts of whole sheaves of India-House despatches, with Mr. Tucker's pencil-notes and emendations upon them, exhibit, in unmistakeable characters, the earnest, sedulous attention which he devoted to the duties of his office. Indeed, he more than fulfilled the expectations of the friends who told him that the Chair could not be occupied by one better able to do full justice to the selection of the Court.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mr. Tucker's Private Correspondence during his Second Chairmanship—Letters to Lord Hardinge; to Sir T. H. Maddock; to Mr. George Clerk; to Mr. Thomason; and to Lord Dalhousie.

To a selection from Mr. Tucker's correspondence, during his second tenure of office, as Chairman of the East India Company, the present chapter may be fitly appropriated:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

[Introductory—The Affairs of the Punjab, Scinde, Gumsoor, &c.—The Religious Controversy at Madras—The Furlough Regulations, &c.]

"East India House, 24th April, 1847.

"MY DEAR LORD,—As the Court of Directors have been pleased to appoint me their Chairman for the present year, your Lordship may perhaps expect to hear from me; and if I can be of any use in conveying intelligence on matters of interest a little earlier than you can receive the communication through the official channels, I shall be happy to perform this office.

"I very cordially congratulate your Lordship on the success of your Punjab arrangements; and I believe that all impartial and intelligent men are now satisfied that these arrangements were dictated by sound policy, while they were recommended by considerations of a still higher character. We were latterly somewhat favored by circumstances; but our success was the legitimate result of prudence, moderation, and justice.

"We have a number of important and difficult questions

pending at present—the Railroad projects—the new Furlough Regulations, &c., &c.; but I will not trouble your Lordship just now with my particular sentiments on these questions. The Madras controversy on that most delicate of all questions, Religion, has occasioned us the greatest embarrassment; but only one feeling, I think, prevails here—that the agitation of this question is pregnant with danger, and that it is become urgently necessary to enforce the policy so long observed by our Government.

"The Scinde question is also most embarrassing. There is a strong impression here (supposed *most erroneously* to originate in personal feelings), that a regular system of civil administration should be introduced in that country; but the *quo modo* is still felt to be matter of difficulty.

"The Gumsoor disturbances will, I am sure, have received your Lordship's early attention. I am quite satisfied that a barbarous people are not to be reclaimed and civilised by the process of burning and destroying; and your Lordship will have known, historically, that a people, very similar to the Khoonds in habits, character, and origin, were reclaimed and civilised by the benevolent policy of an individual (the late Mr. Cleveland, then Collector of Baugulpore). I am just now engaged in preparing a despatch on this subject.

"The Furlough question will, I believe, be referred to your Lordship's Government, as we cannot come to a perfect understanding with the Board on some parts of the new plan, on which the late Chairman has bestowed a great deal of attention. . . . .

"I will only add, on the present occasion, my sincere wishes for the continued success of your Lordship's administration; and I do hope that you will continue long enough in the Government to effect as much in the civil branches of the service as you have accomplished in the political and military branch of our affairs. I pointed out to Sir H. Maddock, some time since, some objects which might admit of retrenchment on the restoration of peace; and I observe that they have not escaped your Lordship's attention. I might add, perhaps, the Shekawattee brigade, the Russell brigade at Hyderabad (with a

view to relieve the Nizam's finances), and some other objects; but they will not, I am sure, be overlooked by your Lordship; and I have hazarded enough for a first letter. I cannot, however, conceal from myself that we have an enormous financial deficit to meet, and that it is impossible to go on prosperously with an increasing debt.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARDINGE, G.C.B., &c., &c.

[On the Appointment of Sir John Littler, &c., &c., and the evils of frequent Changes in the Administrative Agency of India.]

"East India House, 7th May, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I have little of novelty or interest to communicate to you since the despatch of the last mail.

"I have given notice of a motion for Wednesday next, for the appointment of Sir John Littler as a provisional member of Council, and I have no doubt of the cordial concurrence of my colleagues. The appointment will, I think, give your Lordship pleasure, and be highly satisfactory to the army, as showing our sense of the merits and services of so distinguished an officer. . . . . .

"The Madras controversy has occasioned us great embarrassment, especially in its relation to the religious question; but I hope the orders from hence will put a stop to it, for no question more mischievous could well be agitated.

"The Gumsoor disturbances have also caused us great concern and some anxiety; but I feel assured that your Lordship will have arrested the proceedings of the agent, Captain M'Pherson; for no people, I apprehend, will ever be civilised by fire and devastation.*

"The attention of the Court has been drawn lately to the practice of making numerous *acting* appointments, especially in the North-West Provinces. They cannot always be avoided;

* This was written under an erroneous impression of the real character of Captain M'Pherson's proceedings, which had been misrepresented to Government. The charges brought against M'Pherson were afterwards investigated by a Special Commission, and found to be entirely groundless.—J. W. K.

but they are very prejudicial, for the people have not time to become acquainted with their rulers, nor the rulers with the people. I merely mention this as a circumstance (not to say an evil) which has been discussed at much length of late, in reviewing the new Furlough plan.

"It is reported in some quarters here, that it is your Lordship's intention to leave India in January next; but I do hope that such is not the case. I have no connexion with her Majesty's Government; but I feel satisfied, from what I hear, that they are quite sincere and *earnest* in the wish that your Lordship should continue in charge of the Government. One of the greatest evils attending our administration of India is the frequent changes in the Government. The natives look to persons, rather than to principles and to the system of Government; and they see everything in a course of change; and, in truth, there is too much disposition to change on our part. Every man is more or less attached to some preconceived notion; and we do not always pay sufficient deference to the wisdom of our predecessors. Your Lordship has been so much engaged in military and political movements of vast magnitude and importance, that you have had little leisure to enter into the details of civil administration; and I do hope that you will remain long enough in the country to render your Government in the civil department as beneficial to the country as your political and military arrangements have proved to be, both to the State and to our native subjects and allies. That your Lordship's administration may continue prosperous in all its branches to its termination, is the sincere wish of

"Your most faithful servant,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

[On the Announcement of his Resignation, and the Appointment of a Successor.]

"East India House, 23rd May, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I have just been favored with your Lordship's letter of the 5th April, and it was with unfeigned concern that I received the announcement of your intention to

resign the Government in December next. I do believe that it is the earnest wish of her Majesty's Ministers that you should remain in India—at least for another year; and if for no better reason, from the difficulty of finding a suitable successor. Lord Clarendon goes to Ireland; and even if he had not been called upon to fill this difficult (perilous, I might call it)—this most difficult station, his Lordship, I understand, had objections to India. Two other noblemen have been mentioned, but I apprehend that difficulties may occur in carrying through the appointment of either; but no proposition has yet been made, through me, to the Court, by her Majesty's Government; and I do believe that a hope is still entertained that your Lordship will continue at your post. I have a *selfish* feeling on this subject; for a change may involve me in great difficulty. I consider the selection for the office of Governor-General to impose a sacred duty. The well-being of millions may depend upon this selection, and the public interests may be seriously affected by it. This is not mere speculation. To my infinite annoyance, I was, on a former occasion, compelled to oppose an arrangement which I could not honestly concur in; and it would be an instance of extraordinary bad fortune (which I should most earnestly deprecate) if I should, a second time, be placed in the same embarrassing position. I can only hope for the best, and resolve to do my best.

"For the last fortnight a very uneasy feeling has prevailed in this metropolis, partly from the dread of famine, and partly from Financial derangement. Happily, we have had some days of propitious weather, which has somewhat diminished the alarm of an impending famine; and if we should be blessed with a bountiful harvest, our financial difficulties will, I trust, gradually disappear. They arose, in part, from the excessive importation of corn; and they were felt in a degree which I have never witnessed in this country—the acceptances of the first Houses having been discounted at nine and ten per cent. You will judge of the alarm on the subject of food, when I mention that the Premier, at a late public dinner, strongly enjoined, on the part of her Majesty, the utmost economy in our domestic expenditure.

"Your Lordship's very judicious minute of the 17th October last, on the discontinuance of labor on *public* works on Sunday, has attracted the attention of the Court, who entirely concur in the prudent caution which you have inculcated with reference to our native troops. . . . .

"My opinion has always been, that the greatest danger we have to encounter in India is from the intemperate zeal of religious enthusiasts; and I am also convinced that these individuals take the most effectual means to defeat their own cherished object. . . . .

"I had a good deal of conversation yesterday with Sir John Hobhouse on the subject of the Law Commission, the Macaulay Code, &c., and a reference will probably be made to your Lordship's Government on both questions. The Law Commission will die a natural death when Mr. Eliott repairs to Madras, unless revived, or dissolved, which it cannot be, I apprehend, without an Act of Parliament;—and our total neglect of the Code, which has cost us such an immense sum of money, I have always felt as matter of reproach to us. . . .

"I am, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. SIR T. H. MADDOCK.

[On the Reduction of the Salt Duties.]

"East India House, 24th May, 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I have only just been favored with your letter of the 4th ultimo, and I have derived very great satisfaction from your very encouraging report on a prospective view of our finances; and I trust that your most sanguine anticipations will be fully realised.

"I cannot venture to commit the Court by any premature opinion on your resolution to reduce the duty on Salt; but I may say that it harmonises with the opinions which I have long maintained on the subject. My principle has always been to realise a moderate revenue upon the *largest quantity*, both with a view to relieve the consumer, to diminish the motive for smuggling, and to remove, as far as possible, the odium attaching to a tax on one of the necessaries of life. I shall be

glad if I am enabled to satisfy my colleagues that your proceeding is entitled to their approbation and support.

"The extension of your hypothecation advances will not, I trust, expose your treasury to inconvenience, and they may ultimately prove convenient to us, for we have not latterly obtained so large a supply by our bills as we had estimated. Your balance appears to be ample; and in the present state of the money-market here, it is not at all desirable that our resources from India should be curtailed.

"I have been much concerned to hear of Lord Hardinge's determination to resign the Government in December next, for I had hoped that he would have remained long enough to complete his work in the civil department of the Government, which he has not yet had time to enter upon fully.

"With every good wish, believe me,

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. G. R. CLERK, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

[On the Treatment of Native Chiefs and the State of the Police.]

"East India House, 24th May, 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I was only this morning favored with your letter of the 15th ultimo, and I was very glad to perceive that it contained no complaint of your health, or of the climate of Bombay; for I had been led to apprehend, from a late communication from you to Sir James Hogg, that you had already been suffering from the climate, and were even apprehensive of the necessity for a removal. I know that Sir James strongly deprecated the idea of your quitting your post; and I may add that I should, if possible, still more strongly deprecate it.

"On the two leading points noticed by you, there is no probability of any difference of opinion between us. Nay, I was right glad to hear your remarks on the treatment of the native chiefs; for I have been advocating their cause (not so successfully as I could have wished) for the last twenty years, or longer. The first year of my residence in India I passed in Behar (chiefly at Gya), and there I received impressions very favorable to the old Mahomedan families, whose fate excited my

commiseration. I met at different times Gholaum Hussein Khan, the author of the Seer Mutakhereen; and he appeared to me the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen. I have never lost the impressions I received of the harsh treatment which many of the old families had experienced at our hands; and I have since fought the battle of many of the chieftains whose territories we have confiscated. I have also contended against the sweeping resumptions of rent-free grants in our North-West Provinces; but my most strenuous efforts have only succeeded so far as to mitigate the evil.

"As Judicial Secretary in Bengal, the greatest difficulty I had to encounter was with the Police. The Daroga plan was inefficient, and totally failed. The Darogas were ill-paid, and not trustworthy; and I suggested the employment of the agency of the landholders; but here, too, there were great difficulties to overcome. I also suggested to Lord Wellesley the appointment of a Superintendent-General; and the late Mr. L. Davis (an excellent officer) was appointed accordingly, and the office has since been continued; but I do not perceive that as much good has resulted from it as I had anticipated. The fact is, that there are inherent difficulties in the establishment of an efficient Police in India. We cannot proceed according to the notions and practice of the natives; and our principles and usages are not suitable to them. But I have not time at present to discuss these questions; and my antediluvian information and opinions can be of no use to you.

"Believe me, with great esteem, very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. GEORGE CLERK.

[On the Visitation-Tours of Indian Governors.]

"East India House, 24th July, 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I will frankly tell you my opinion, as an individual member of the Court, in regard to the tours, or periodical movements of our Governors.

"When those Governors, as in your case, happen to be well acquainted with the people of India, and conversant with their languages, I consider it to be highly desirable and eminently

useful that they should have personal communication with the native Chiefs, Jagheerdars, and others, in order that they may become better acquainted with the character of those chiefs, with their feelings, interests, and general disposition towards our Government, in order that they may be conciliated by kindness, that their complaints may be heard, that they may be benefited by wholesome and friendly advice; that they may be taken out of bad hands, and, as far as possible, guarded against habits of extravagance and dissipation. I am accustomed to regard some of these chiefs as full-grown children, who stand in need of parental care; and the Governor who can, and will supply the place of a parent to them, may not only become a benefactor to the individuals, but he performs an important service to the public.

"But a tour of mere parade, by one who knows little or nothing of the country, is worse than useless; and I could mention certain of these visitations which have proved most mischievous in their consequences.

"Generally they are inconvenient, as they dislocate the Government, and, for the time, nearly paralyse it.

"Then, again, they not only occasion expense to the State, but, what is much worse, they give rise to impositions on the people, and not unfrequently to positive mal-treatment and oppression. Crops are injured—cattle and men are pressed arbitrarily into the service—articles of consumption (eggs, poultry, milk, firewood, &c.) are appropriated without remuneration; and the people are sometimes frightened from their villages. You cannot move a large body of men through the country, and especially men armed with authority, or assuming authority, without these contingencies. I believe I may say, that no person could be more unwilling than myself to countenance or permit oppression or injustice; but I am far from being satisfied that much wrong may not have been committed in my name, when I made a tour of the Western Provinces, just forty years ago. Our camp did not, I believe, with our escort, exceed 400 or 500 men; but this *cortége*, moderate enough when compared with a Vice-Regal movement, was large enough to levy contributions from the country. I made an example of two of my servants at an early period; but

I am not sure that their successors were more trustworthy; and as for an 'Ellenborough Promenade,' I should say, that it would be more destructive than any flight of locusts could possibly prove.

"Here you have my genuine feeling on the general question; but in your particular case, I do hope to hear that you have visited the interior (by-and-by, including even Scinde), to the great comfort of the people, and to your own great satisfaction.

"With every good wish, believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HONORABLE JAMES THOMASON.

[On the Cultivation of Cotton in India.]

"East India House, 24th July, 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I have been favored with your letter from Simla of May the 20th; but as our packet is about to close, I can at present do little more than acknowledge it.

"I am very glad to hear that you are taking so great an interest in the success of our cotton operations. It has been a favorite object with me for twenty years, and I wrote a Memoir on the subject many years ago; but I met with little encouragement for some time, although what I contended for embraced a great national object.

"Things have now taken a different turn, and I anticipate entire success at an early period. A great meeting of the manufacturers, at which Dr. Royle and our American planters (Messrs. Mercer and Blunt) attended, took place lately at Manchester, and upon the explanations which were given, two of the principal Houses immediately determined to send out orders for the purchase of 18,000 bales of our Indian cotton, and I believe they will, by-and-by, send out factors to purchase from the cultivators on the spot, and to make advances in the same manner as we have long done for indigo, silk, &c.

"Mr. Bell shall experience every attention, and receive ample justice, if his produce be approved; but from some strange oversight, 800 *anonymous* bales have arrived, which I suspect to be from him, but which cannot be identified. They

were received per *Monarch* and *Amwell*. The first report of the brokers on this cotton was very unfavorable; but I am glad to find that it is likely to turn out much better than had been anticipated. The fibre was represented to have been much cut; but a handful sent me by my son St.George, and which I suspect was taken from the same consignment, was not found to have this defect.

"Your North-West cotton will not, however, I fear, be found equal to the produce of the districts further south; and your cultivation is reported to be '*slovenly*,' and very unequal to that of the districts of Berar, Candeish, Dharwar, &c. This has somewhat surprised me; but the defect may surely be corrected; and another great defect, the want of due care in separating the cotton from the seed and leaf, and other impurities, may also, no doubt, be remedied by a little more attention. I have the pleasure to enclose a short memorandum from Dr. Royle. . . .

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARDINGE, &c., &c.

[On the Affairs of Oude, Hyderabad, Gumsoor, &c.—The Furlough Regulations—The Great Ganges Canal, and the Appointment of Lord Dalhousie.]

"East India House, 7th August, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I have been favored with your Lordship's letter of the 9th June, and I rejoice to hear that everything is going on favorably and satisfactorily, with the exception, perhaps, of our relations with Oude and Hyderabad. But both these cases have presented great difficulties for a long course of years; and I had to encounter them when in office thirteen years ago. I have not yet seen the correspondence; but, after communicating with Sir John Hobhouse, I will hereafter state to your Lordship everything which may occur to me on the subject. . . . .

"We hope soon to hear that the Gumsoor disturbances have been suppressed, and that a milder system has been introduced, for the better management of that territory. Razias can never succeed in tranquillising any country; and your Lordship will

not, perhaps, be surprised to hear that the French Government are at length becoming sensible of this truth, and that they have actually applied to us to ascertain how we manage our Mahomedan population. I am surprised that your Lordship should not earlier have been made acquainted with the state of affairs in Gumsoor, for we had some information on the subject here; and two very intelligent men—Mr. George Russell and Mr. Mills—furnished me with memoirs on the causes of the recent outbreak.

"Our military Furlough Regulations have not yet been matured. I find from my Indian letters that an erroneous sketch of what was projected has been received in Bengal, and that it has produced much dissatisfaction. I always apprehended that the army would be disappointed; and it is to be regretted that any expectation should have been held out to them until the plan was matured.

"The question of the 'Ganges Canal' has been much discussed of late among us; and a member of the Court has given notice of a motion for Wednesday next, and has prepared an elaborate paper, strongly deprecating the undertaking. When the project was first brought forward, I contended against the attempt to combine the two objects of irrigation and navigation; and all I have since learnt has tended to strengthen and confirm my objections. Major Cautley, indeed, states that 'navigation' constitutes no part of his original plan, and that it was super-added under a peremptory order of Lord Ellenborough; but, in fact, he has not satisfied us that, even with a view to objects of irrigation, the canal is likely to succeed in producing more good than mischief, or that more simple, easy, and economical means might not be resorted to for the purpose of accomplishing the same end. The following objections, among others, have been urged against the canal:

"1st. That the expense would be enormous, and incommensurate with the object.

"2nd. That, after the completion of the work, a large annual charge must be incurred for establishments, repairs, &c., &c.

"3rd. That the work cannot be completed for *many years*, Major Cautley himself admitting that the Salam Aqueduct, ex-

tending for the first nineteen miles, cannot be completed in less than five years.

"4th. That the distribution of the water will be matter of difficulty—will give occasion to complaints and litigation, and will be open to great abuse by the officers of Government.

"5th. That the navigation of the Ganges above Allahabad will be utterly destroyed, to the great injury of the landholders and people of Rohilkund, Oude, &c. This fact almost admits of proof even from what has occurred in the Jumna; and Major Cautley's assumption that the deficiency of water in that river has been supplied by percolation, would seem to be unsupported by the facts of the case as exhibited by one of our colleagues.

"6th. That the sanatory effects of the canal may prove very injurious, by converting a running stream into stagnant water during the dry season.

"7th. That the extension of cultivation, by means of irrigation from the canal, has been much over-estimated; and that, even admitting such extension, a falling off may take place in other quarters, the Ryots and others having no sufficient means of hoarding and preserving their surplus produce.

"Lastly. That the same object may be attained in a better manner by sinking wells, forming reservoirs, &c., &c., according to the usage which has long prevailed in different parts of the country.

"After communicating with Sir John Hobhouse on the subject, and hearing the course of our deliberations, I will communicate the result to your Lordship at as early a period as possible.

"I have only to add that Lord Dalhousie was appointed to succeed your Lordship in the Government on Wednesday last, and that he proposes to embark for Alexandria, in an Admiralty steamer, in the middle of November, and may be expected to reach Calcutta early in January. Sir H. Pottinger was appointed at the same time to succeed to the Government of Fort St. George.

"With every good wish for your Lordship's health, and a

happy termination to an administration which has been so successful,

"I have the honor to be, most sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

[On the State of Affairs at Hyderabad.]

"East India House, 24th August, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I have not had the pleasure of hearing from your Lordship by the July mail; but Sir John Hobhouse has communicated to me your letters of the 23rd June, on two very important questions.

"The state of affairs at Hyderabad involves a question of great delicacy and difficulty, on which the Court have been much divided during the last twenty years. From present appearances, there is reason to apprehend that a crisis has arisen, or must soon arise, when some decided steps must be taken; and your Lordship's despatch on the late transactions at Hyderabad (military and financial), which may be expected by the next mail, will fairly open the question to us. It is one which is not new to me; for I have frequently had occasion to reflect upon it, and to discuss it publicly. My own principles lead me to a strict observance of treaties, and I was a party to the Hyderabad despatch of 1843; but I do not go so far as to maintain that a case may not arise to justify a peremptory interference; and I am disposed to think that, in the present instance, our interposition may be necessary, both with a view to the interests, and indeed to the safety, of the Nizam himself. Before proceeding to an authoritative act, leading to the assumption of the territory, I should be glad, I own, if an attempt were made to obtain his Highness's consent to our undertaking the administration for a limited term (say—five or ten years), on his part, and for his behoof; the net evenue being receivable by his Highness, after defraying the charges of administration, and the interest of any *bonâ fide* debts, to which the State may be liable. We have a case somewhat analogous in Mysore, although in this instance an article in the treaty was considered to authorise our assumption of the territory. Lahore presents

another instance; but here we had a clear field. Much of our success in this, as in other cases, would depend upon the agency employed; but on this point I am not prepared to hazard any suggestion. Your Lordship must now be well acquainted with the instruments within your reach. Some men easily inspire confidence; and you must gain the confidence of the natives of India before you can negotiate with them successfully.

"With every good wish, I have the honor to be, most sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. GEORGE CLERK.

[On the Administration of Scinde and the Government of Aden.]

"East India House, 5th Sept., 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I have been favored with your letter of the 3rd July, and Mr. Melvill has also given me the pleasure of perusing a letter from you of the 17th. I trust that there is now an early prospect of your having Scinde placed under your administration, and I feel satisfied with great public advantage. If you can spare time to pay a visit to that province, your inspection of the state of things on the spot may be very useful. There is nothing so satisfactory as seeing with our own eyes; and I apprehend that you will see much which it is desirable you should see. I have never been able to satisfy myself with respect to the manner in which the land-revenue is realised. The collections appear generally to be made in kind; but how is the grain valued when taken from the cultivator? and is it issued at the same valuation to the commissariat, &c.? or how is it disposed of? Our information has been defective throughout in every branch of administration; but you will be able, on the spot, by examining the officers employed, and their accounts, to satisfy yourself on the *facts* of the case. With respect to the judicial administration, we are equally at a loss for information; but your inquiries will enable us to judge of the system which will be most suitable for the country and the people in their present condition.

"I am surprised that there should be any difficulty in selecting a competent officer to command the troops; but if he

should not be found at Bombay, Lord Hardinge will, I trust, be able to supply one from Bengal. It is desirable, no doubt, that an officer should be selected from Bombay to command Bombay troops ; but if he be not forthcoming, we must look to some other quarter. I will make inquiry about the views and intentions of General Hunter ; but we could not well invite him to go out to take a command, without knowing exactly what that command is to be ; and we could not safely make an arrangement here until we shall be made acquainted with the opinion and views of the Governor-General.

"I cannot think that the appointment of a Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, to such a petty place as Aden, can be required. This would be to imitate what was called the 'Scotch Invasion' of Penang some half century ago. If the public functionaries will not act harmoniously together, the public service must otherwise be provided for. The distinction between the civil and military authorities in India has been long settled, and is well understood. The one points out the service to be performed—the other executes and determines the means upon its own responsibility. If, however, a *Head* be wanting, larger powers might be given to the Resident or Military Commandant (as the case may be), without the costly apparatus of a regular Government.

"With every good wish, believe me, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARDINGE, &c., &c.

[On the Appointment of Lord Dalhousie—The Affairs of Nepaul—Oude—Hyderabad.]

"East India House, 8th November, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I have been favored with your Lordship's letters of the 5th and 20th September, by the same mail; and I was much pleased to find that the appointment of Lord Dalhousie was so highly approved by your Lordship.

"I can confidently say that it was the wish of the Court of Directors, and, I believe I may say, of her Majesty's Ministers,

to select a worthy successor to your Lordship; and I feel satisfied that the earnest wishes of all parties are likely to be fulfilled.

"I was very glad to hear that your Lordship had succeeded in removing the Ranee from the scene of her mischievous intrigues with so little trouble and difficulty; and I have no doubt that this step will tend greatly to maintain tranquillity in the Punjab, and to preserve her son from the contagion of vice. You have not announced officially your proposed arrangement for the future management of our affairs at Lahore; and until the first move be made in India, we cannot well make the consequent appointments here. My intention is to propose that the appointment of Sir F. Currie to succeed Colonel Lawrence (Sir F. necessarily vacating his seat in Council) should be confirmed, with the allowances of a member of Council; that Sir John Littler should succeed to the vacant seat; and that Sir H. Maddock should have his term in Council extended for another year. This will prevent the necessity for any new appointment to Council—will make an opening for the re-appointment of Sir F. Currie to Council some sixteen or eighteen months hence—and will afford Lord Dalhousie the assistance of an experienced officer in the commencement of his government. But before all this can be arranged, we must hear of Colonel Lawrence's retirement.

"We shall not, I trust, have any occasion to interfere in the affairs of Nepaul. They must settle their own affairs in their own way; and although we must desire always to see our neighbours enjoy peace and internal order, I doubt whether any interposition on our part would tend to promote that end.

"From the late despatches regarding Hyderabad, I am led to hope that some amelioration has taken place, and that the first move has been made to effect a reform in the finances of the state. Had its financial embarrassments been further aggravated, we should have been compelled, I fear, to take some strong measures to secure the payment of the large arrears due to us; but I own that I shall be glad to hear that the Government has reformed itself without our instrumentality. I have

given notes for a reply to your Lordship's last despatch on the subject; and, indeed, a draft has already been prepared.

"I am afraid that your Lordship will find more urgent occasion for the interposition of our good offices with his Majesty of Oude; and I shall be a little impatient to hear the result of your interview with his Majesty. Our agency in managing that country would be more easy and beneficial, and more advantageous to the Prince and people, than it would be likely to prove at Hyderabad; but I do hope that your Lordship will show your accustomed liberality, and that everything will be done for the behoof of the King, unworthy as he may be, and that we shall only require indemnification for the expense of our agency.

"We first exacted 70,00,000 per annum to defray the charge of our subsidiary force: we then increased the subsidy to 1,20,00,000, and then commuted it for territory yielding double that sum!

"I have given directions for an immediate reply to the last reference to the Court on the religious question, and I hope to render the Court's instructions more specific; but it is a question of great delicacy, and there are various feelings to be consulted and reconciled. My own opinions are very decided, as your Lordship is aware. Our late despatch was prepared by Sir James Hogg with great care, and it passed the Court with a very general feeling in its favor, and was cordially acquiesced in, I believe, by the Board; but I perceive that the members of Council feel some difficulty in giving effect to our views and wishes, and that some more precise instructions are required. In the mean time, I think that it was very prudent to abstain from publishing the Court's orders, or any which your Lordship may have thought advisable, in the *Gazette*, since such publication would almost infallibly have given rise to a mischievous controversy in the papers. We have had too much of this already at Madras.

"I scarcely know what to say about the Ganges Canal; but I fear with your Lordship, that we must go on with the work, although I much fear, at the same time, that no advantage will

be derived from it at all commensurate with the immense outlay. And, independently of pecuniary considerations, I foresee that contingencies may result which are likely to become the source of much future embarrassment. We have great misgivings on the subject here, where the project has been carefully examined, and difficulties and objections have presented themselves which do not appear to have been sufficiently adverted to by the original projectors. Engineers, very naturally, regard such works with the eyes of engineers. It is not their business to foresee remote consequences affecting the rights and interests of parties, or the health and well-being of the community.

"Our railroad project is quite at a stand-still. The company with which we have been so long negotiating, cannot raise money sufficient to make the required deposit of 100,000*l.*; nor, indeed, any large portion of it. We have given them to the 31st March to make good this preliminary condition; but I doubt whether they will then be better prepared than at present. Such is the deplorable state of the money-market here, that funds cannot be raised, even on Government security, at a lower interest than 8 or 10 per cent. per annum; and there is no immediate prospect of amendment. I fear that the money-market of India must soon experience the effect of our embarrassment; and I am apprehensive that difficulties may be experienced in furnishing us with those large supplies, by means of hypothecation, which we shall probably require in the ensuing season. In the mean time, the Indian Treasuries will be relieved by the very limited amount of our drafts; although commerce must suffer from the difficulty of procuring funds for remittance to India and China. I have mentioned to Sir H. Maddock that early arrangements will be made with reference to the amount of supplies to be furnished from India.

"Your Lordship's military reductions have afforded us here the utmost satisfaction. It required no small degree of moral courage, and, I may say, patriotism, to undertake such reductions; but they were absolutely necessary to rescue us from a state of bankruptcy, and the work has been manfully undertaken and accomplished.

"Your Lordship's suggestions with respect to the carriage of the soldiers' baggage, &c., will receive every attention, as soon as the subject comes officially before us. I have always understood that one of the greatest difficulties attending military operations in India arose from the extent of the baggage; but this inconvenience has, I believe, been somewhat mitigated of late years; and although your Lordship has done so much to prevent hostile movements for some time, yet it is always desirable to avail ourselves of a time of peace, to guard against the contingency of war.

"I do hope that in a few months I shall have the pleasure of seeing your Lordship in this country in perfect health, to enjoy your success and your domestic comforts.

"I have the honour to be, very sincerely, &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

[On the Financial Affairs of the Company.]

"East India House, 7th December, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—In my last letter, I mentioned that we were likely to experience great financial difficulty, in consequence of the total derangement of the money-market in this city; nor do I very clearly see my way through these difficulties. Moreover, they are not merely of a temporary character.

"We have entirely exhausted our reserved fund, arising out of the residue of our commercial assets; and we have not, therefore, any resource to fall back upon in order to meet a temporary emergency.

"2nd. We cannot raise money, as heretofore, by our bills on India; for the commercial capital has been so shattered of late, and the rate of interest is so extravagantly high, that money cannot be supplied to effect the usual remittances to India and China.

"3rd. Many of the Houses on which our hypothecation bills were drawn have failed, or suspended payment, and others are anxious to obtain the indulgence of time to effect their pay-

ments; so that this resource has, in a great measure, failed us, at least for the present.

"4th. Our bonds have been of late at a heavy discount, and it is not only impossible to effect any further issue, but we have reason to apprehend that notice will be given, requiring payment of those outstanding, amounting to 2,300,000*l.*, at the expiration of twelve months.

"We shall, under these circumstances, urgently require the bullion-remittance of half a million, which has been ordered, and which I trust we shall receive in the course of April, or early in May.

"Under present circumstances, it appears to me much more prudent to resort to a moderate remittance in bullion, than to lower the exchange for our bills. If India has 4,500,000*l.* to pay on her commercial and political account, and only 4,000,000*l.* to receive, it is better to incur a loss on the remittance of bullion to pay the excess (500,000*l.*), than to reduce the exchange on the whole debt of India, or 4,500,000*l.* I discussed this question, and the general theory of exchange, in a despatch to the Court from the Financial Department, bearing date the 23rd of August, 1809; and your Lordship can, if you please, refer Mr. Dorin to it.

"But we cannot for a continuance depend upon remittances in bullion; and then arises the question—How is the political and commercial debt of India to be discharged? The public debt, for which we must find a remittance, amounts now to nearly four millions; and I fear that at least another million must be added for private fortunes accumulated in India, for which a remittance is periodically required.

"I have reason to believe, from the best inquiry which I can make here, that India possesses at present a fair stock of the precious metals, the importations greatly exceeding any exportation or absorption which I can trace; but it would be very useful if your Lordship would direct Mr. Dorin to make particular inquiry on this subject, in order that we may be enabled to judge how far we can depend upon drawing, from time to time, a supply of bullion from India, without deranging

commerce or the circulation, and without creating the apprehension of a deficiency of specie. I found it very necessary to satisfy myself on all these points while I had the charge of our finances.

"But the discovery of the *channel* of remittance is not our only difficulty. We must command the *means* of supplying that remittance, by producing a substantial surplus revenue, after defraying the large and *increasing* home charges. Lord Hardinge has set to work manfully in reducing the military expenditure, and I trust that the energy and zeal of Mr. G. Clerk will do much to effect important reductions in the charges of Scinde, although there is no one branch of the service to which I can look forward with less satisfaction and less *hope* than this same province of Scinde. It has sorely punished us for our rapacity, our vicious ambition, and our violation of the national faith! What a contrast does not the Punjab present to us!

"Lord Ellenborough has attacked our plan of hypothecation; but we stand on strong ground, and I little heed opinions which are not founded on public principles. Had we abandoned this system to interested clamor, we should not have had at this moment a hundred pounds in our Treasury, and we must have gone to Parliament as paupers!

"With every good wish, I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

"H. St.G. Tucker.

"I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of some notes which I wrote on a former occasion, in objection to a reduction in the rate of the exchange; but I was not successful in persuading the Court to adopt my opinion.—H. St.G. T."

"TO THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, &c., &c.

[On the Affairs of Hyderabad and Oude, and the Resignation of Mr. Clerk.]

"East India House, 24th December, 1847.

"My dear Lord,—I trust that you are now traversing the Bay of Bengal, and that in a few days you will be safely landed at the seat of your government.

"Sir John Hobhouse has been so much indisposed of late, from the prevailing epidemic, and so frequently absent from town, that I have not seen him for a month past, and we have not, consequently, transacted any important business which it might be desirable for me to notice to your Lordship. On financial matters, I have already communicated as much as can be necessary or useful, in my two last letters.

"We have at present on the table of the Court a proposed despatch to India on the state of our affairs at Hyderabad; and if it should be concurred in by the Board, it will show your Lordship distinctly the sentiments of the Court, and the line of policy which we think should be pursued towards that state. It is in reply to Lord Hardinge's late despatches, enclosing the correspondence with General Frazer; and it disposes, I hope, of the main questions involved in that very voluminous correspondence.

"I have received a private letter from Lord Hardinge of the 6th ultimo, relating to the state of affairs in Oude, which are embarrassing enough; but our relations with that state are somewhat different from those which connect us with Hyderabad; and the difficulty of effecting necessary reforms in the former are not so formidable, I should hope, as in the latter case. I shall be anxious to hear the result of his Lordship's personal conference with his Majesty of Oude; and I feel assured that his arrangements, whatever they may be, will be dictated by a sense of justice, a respect for our engagements, and a real desire to promote the best interests of his Majesty and his people. These interests, I do believe, would be best promoted by his allowing us to put his country in order for him (he deriving the whole pecuniary advantage); but I fear we have given so many instances of a grasping disposition, and of a selfish policy, that his Majesty will not readily commit his concerns to our good management.

"I have learnt from Mr. George Clerk, with extreme concern, that he intends to resign the Government of Bombay on the 1st May next, in consequence of the failure of his health. This will be a great disappointment to us, and a real loss; for I

expected much from his talents, energy, and public spirit, in a station where all these qualities are so much required, and so difficult to be commanded. I trust, however, that before his departure, he will be able to collect and to furnish your Lordship's Government and the Court with valuable information regarding Scinde, which may assist materially in enabling us to regulate beneficially its future administration.

"With every good wish, I have the honor to be, your Lordship's most faithful,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

"TO THE HON. G. R. CLERK.

[On his Resignation of the Government of Bombay and the Administration of Scinde.]

"East India House, 24th Dec., 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I have been favored with your letters of the 12th and 13th ult., and I have learnt with extreme concern your intention of resigning your government on the 1st May. Your own correspondence with Mr. Melvill and myself, independently of other sources of information, shows that much is required to be done at Bombay to correct abuses, and to place public affairs on a sounder and better footing; and from your experience, energy, and public spirit, and I may add, from your familiarity with sound *principles* and *practice*, I had hoped and anticipated that the necessary reforms would have been effected. I am aware, at the same time, that we cannot contend against failing health; and that it would be unreasonable and unjust to expect any man to sacrifice himself, without even the prospect of his accomplishing the object of that sacrifice.

"I do hope, however, that you will be able to satisfy yourself, by careful and intelligent inquiry on the spot, with respect to the real state of affairs in Scinde, past and present; and that you will be able to suggest a remedy for existing and ascertained evils. I have received, at different times, a good deal of information, and from a highly respectable quarter, regarding

the internal administration of that country (revenue and judicial), and more especially with regard to the manner in which the revenue in kind is realised and brought to account, and the produce in grain subsequently disposed of to the commissariat, &c.; but you will have better means of ascertaining the facts on the spot; and if any deceptions should have been practised, you will, I am sure, be anxious to detect and to correct them. I hope that Mr. Pringle is a man of *energy*, and not likely to be discouraged or deterred by difficulties. The great object of a retrospect into past mismanagement (if it has existed) is to reform it, and to trace out a safer and better road for the future.

" The specimens of your press, which I have lately seen, are atrocious; but nothing can surpass in calumny what we are sometimes condemned to hear in the General Court in this House. The times are strangely altered since my early days, when all claiming to hold a place in society were compelled to speak and act as gentlemen. The attacks on your administration, and on the Indian Navy question, are too flagitious to excite any but one feeling, except among those who have discarded every proper feeling. This Indian Navy question has embarrassed us beyond measure, and it is still under consideration. We are much astonished at the conduct of some parties, who ought to have known better.

" With every good wish, believe me, my dear Sir,

" Very sincerely yours,

" H. St.G. Tucker."

" TO THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c.

[On the Affairs of Hyderabad and the State of the Public Finances.]

" East India House, 24th April, 1848.

" My dear Lord,—I have been favored with your Lordship's letter of the 9th of March; and I scarcely know why I neglected to write by the January Mail; but I was a good deal harassed at one time, and had more to do than I could possibly do in a satisfactory manner.

"I am a great stickler for the observance of treaties, and so, I have reason to believe, is your Lordship; but I apprehend that the time must arrive (even before the expiration of Lord Hardinge's two years of grace) when our intervention in the affairs of Oude will be found necessary even for the safety of the Prince himself. I feel satisfied that, if the country were placed under our administration, at least a third would be added to its revenue in the course of three years; but the financial benefit should all be secured to the Prince, and I would not take from him a single rupee beyond the expense of management. Our arrangement with his Majesty's predecessors in 1798 and 1801 were all to our advantage, and were sufficiently exacting on our part.

"Towards the Nizam we stand in a different relation; and there must be a strong case to justify our interference with his Highness, except for the purpose of ameliorating his condition, and rendering him an act of tardy justice, by relieving him from a military charge, imposed upon him for our own purposes, without any regard to the obligations of the treaty. I trust that this military force may be dispensed with, by-and-by, as the most easy means of restoring his finances. There are two difficulties at Hyderabad: the one, to find a capable minister; the other, to get rid of European influences and connexions, which have long operated injuriously on the affairs of that state. The well-being and prosperity of all the native states depending upon us, are liable to be much influenced by the character of our Resident. If he understand the people, and—with the union of firmness with a conciliatory temper—will take the trouble to explain to them their real interests, and to show them how those interests may best be prosecuted, he will soon gain their confidence, and be in a condition to guide them. The natives of India are easily led by those whom they believe to be their friends.

"I feel very great anxiety on the subject of our finances. If we cannot produce a surplus revenue in India, sufficient to defray the home expenditure—and if means cannot be found to effect an annual remittance to the extent of three and a half

or four millions—we shall, at an early period, be reduced to a state of actual insolvency here. It would never do to go on borrowing from year to year, during a *period of peace*, even if funds could be raised at a moderate rate of interest, which is far from certain; and, if once we begin to raise our rate of interest in India, no man can say where we should stop; and how are our stupendous works to be carried on without borrowing?—our canals, our railroads, our projected works at Bombay, at Aden, and in Scinde, and elsewhere? I have had a conversation with Sir James Lushington this morning on the subject; and I own that I do not see my way. I am no longer at the helm, and I am happy that I am not; but I take a deep interest in my old department, in which I served so long.

"The last two months have produced more extraordinary events in Europe than, under ordinary circumstances, would fairly have occupied two centuries; but your Lordship will have heard enough of them so far, and the result is still to be developed. The 10th of April was, however, a glorious day for this country; and it exhibited in strong contrast the difference between our people and those of the other nations of Europe. May we long enjoy our pre-eminence!

"With every good wish, I have the honor to be, my dear Lord,

"Most sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. Tucker and Lord George Bentinck—The Sugar Duties Committee—The Navigation Laws—His private Life and Habits—Illness and Recovery—Letter to his Children—Projected Retirement from Office—Address to his Constituency—His last Illness—His Death—Character of H. St.G. Tucker.

When Mr. Tucker, in April, 1848, retired from the Chairmanship of the East India Company, he had entered his seventy-eighth year. But he was still in good health and in the unimpaired possession of all his faculties; and still was he an active member of the Court of Directors. At no time, indeed, of his life did he take greater interest in public affairs, or was he more competent to express an opinion regarding them.

Among other subjects which much engaged the attention of Mr. Tucker at this time was the importation of Indian Sugar. He had been examined before a Committee of the House of Commons whilst yet in the Chair,* and he continued, after quitting

* Lord George Bentinck set great store by Mr. Tucker's evidence. "British interests," he wrote, "cannot do without you. The dictum of the Chairman of the East India Company, that 'the certain consequences of annihilating the export trade of sugar to England and of rice to Mauritius, would be to bring India's power of remittance to a dead lock before two years are out,' will have more effect, in-doors and out, than all the evidence put together that we have heard, or shall hear, about India."

it, to correspond with Lord George Bentinck, whose indomitable industry and activity excited in him no common admiration. These were qualities which won the respect even of political opponents, and were sure to be appreciated by Mr. Tucker, who concurred in the opinions of the Protectionist chief.

The subject was one which always had for him a peculiar interest. He had been familiar with it for half a century. In an earlier part of this Memoir it has been shown how zealously Mr. Tucker contended for the necessity of encouraging the production of the staple commodities of India—as Sugar, Cotton, Silk, &c.—not only for the benefit that such encouragement confers upon the people, but as a means of remittance to England.* The importance of this argument Lord George Bentinck clearly perceived, and with a view to the more complete elaboration of his report on the evidence taken before the Committee, he applied to Mr. Tucker for some further information on the subject of the remittance of the Indian tribute. In compliance with the request made to him, the latter drew up a paper of "Notes," under date May 2, 1848; and on the following day wrote a long letter on the subject :†

"TO LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.

"East India House, 3rd May, 1848.

"My Lord,—I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's note of yesterday, requesting me to state whether 'the march of events enabled me to furnish the Committee with any

* See *ante*, pp. 365, 366.

† It was about this time that he wrote the paper on Remittances to England, given in *Memorials of Indian Government.*

facts illustrative of my evidence already given, that any serious depreciation of the staple productions of India, and more particularly of sugar, would be calculated injuriously to affect the power of India to make the remittance of her annual tribute to England.'

"It would ill become me to indulge in speculations which might create uneasiness or alarm. Nor should I be justified, as an individual, in pronouncing a judgment on the commercial policy which should be pursued by the Legislature of this country with relation to our Indian dependencies; but I do not hesitate to declare, that I have seen no reason whatever to retract, or to modify, any of the opinions and statements which I ventured to submit, in my examination before the Committee.

"On the contrary, my apprehensions of the difficulty which we are likely to experience in effecting our accustomed remittances from India, have lately much increased.

"1st. Because, notwithstanding the late reduction in the exchange of our bills on India from 1s. 10d. the rupee to 1s. 9½d., the demand for these bills has been very inconsiderable.

"2ndly. Because, from the latest accounts which I have received from Calcutta, bearing date the 21st of March, I am led to believe that our remittances, by means of hypothecation, are likely to be very deficient in the present year. It is observed: 'You will learn from the despatch that, finding the advances on hypothecation come in very slowly, we amended the terms by advancing to the extent of three-fourths. This improvement of the terms has, I am sorry to say, produced no sensible effect.'

"3rdly. Because the late sales of sugar, consigned to the Court in the last year under hypothecation, have been attended with an actual loss, estimated at about one-fourth of the amount of the bills drawn upon such consignments.

"4thly. Because it has been found necessary to resort to a remittance of bullion from India, in order to supply a portion of the deficiency in the commercial remittance.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that a remittance in specie, or bullion, cannot be resorted to with advantage,

except for the purpose of adjusting a balance on the commercial and political debts and credits of two or more countries; and I can state from my own experience, that any large abstraction of the precious metals from India is likely to occasion great public inconvenience. That country possesses no mines of those metals—the importations have much diminished of late, as our Mint records and other accounts tend to show—there is an exportation to the countries beyond the Jumna, in payment for salt and other articles—no inconsiderable amount is absorbed in the manufacture of plate, trinkets, &c., by the natives—and our metallic currency is little assisted by a paper currency, which cannot enter largely into the very minute transactions of the native population, and which is liable to expose them, from their ignorance, to frauds and impositions.

"Under these circumstances, I can state confidently that we cannot often have recourse to a remittance in specie, or bullion, from India, without the risk of financial derangement. The wealthy natives, under any alarm, are very apt to withhold specie from circulation; and its abstraction is liable to affect public credit, and to prevent the Government from raising the funds which may, from time to time, be required for the public service, at a moderate rate of interest.

"I need scarcely repeat that India can only discharge her annual tribute to the mother country, *for a continuance*, by means of her produce and manufactures; and if this country will not receive that produce at remunerating prices, the same amount of tribute cannot be realised. I have stated that sugar appears to me our most promising article of export from India; but, at the present prices in this market, it cannot be exported with advantage; and if the supply should cease, or be materially curtailed (which is certainly to be apprehended), I know not where a substitute is to be found. Cotton may, by-and-by, furnish a very important resource, and our attention has been directed, for many years past, to this great national object; but we are not yet in a condition to compete successfully with the cotton from the United States. Indigo, I fear, has reached its maximum. Silk is not improving; and the indirect remittance in opium through China is likely to be much dimi-

nished, in consequence of the late fall in the price of the article in Calcutta.

"Again, I would urge, without presuming to point out the *quo modo*, that one of the greatest benefits which the British Legislature could confer on India and on the East India Company, would be to encourage, by whatever means, the importation of sugar from our Indian territories.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

Among other subjects which engaged his attention at a little later period was the Repeal of the Navigation Laws, and the reflexion of this measure upon the Coasting Trade of India. He dissented from the determination of his colleagues to grant a relaxation of existing restrictions similar to that which had been decreed in England, and recorded his opinions on the subject in an elaborate minute. He also addressed a letter to the present Lord Derby on the subject, in which he declared that he "viewed with jealousy and distrust every attempt to extend to India the application of those novel doctrines which, in his opinion, had already produced infinite mischief in our own country."*

In the same year (1849) he was actively engaged in the discussions of the Court, arising out of the appointment of Sir Charles Napier to the chief command of the Indian army, and he drew up a series of Resolutions on the subject, which show that his pen had lost none of its old perspicuity and

* This letter, and the official minute, have already been published in the *Memorials of Indian Government.*

vigor. He recommended that the appointment should be confirmed, but that the entire responsibility of the measure should be declared to rest on the advisers of the Crown.

He attended at the India House, at this time, with all his old punctuality, generally proceeding thither in a public conveyance. "I should consider myself a perfect Heliogabulus," he wrote jestingly, one day to his wife, "if I were to treat myself to the luxury of a cab." He had for some time denied himself horse-exercise, though his health benefited greatly by it, that he might meet the numerous claims on his benevolence. But at this period (1847-8-9) it was his wont to ride with one of his daughters almost every afternoon, except on Court-days, after he had done his work at the India House. And he would talk about old times, gaily and pleasantly, and tell many stories of his early Indian career, interspersing them with sketches of Cornwallis and Wellesley, Barlow, Minto, and Hastings, and anecdotes of his first friend, Thomas Law, and other associates of his youth. It is hard to say how much this Memoir has benefited by these afternoon rides in the Park.

His health, as I have said, was excellent at this time; but he never forgot the years that he had numbered, or the gratitude that was due to the Almighty who had mercifully preserved him so long. Some years before he had thought that the final summons was near at hand; for there were symptoms of what seemed to him to be an affection

of the heart, which might suddenly terminate his existence.* But the apprehension was groundless; and six years after the seizure, which was devoutly accepted by him as a warning, he was in the full enjoyment of all the tranquil pleasures of domestic life, and capable, as ever, of pursuing his old career of public utility. Still, as I have said, he never forgot the years that he had numbered.

In February, 1850, he wrote to his sister-in-law: "I did not take leave of you and yours; for I am not fond of this ceremony, and at my time of life I cannot separate from my friends without the feeling that we may never meet again. In the course of nature my career must soon be brought to a close, and, indeed, the term of my existence has been mercifully extended far beyond what I could have expected. I have, too, been blessed with health; but still I must be prepared to obey the great law of nature, and I trust that I shall submit to it with perfect resignation and composure." In the following month, he wrote one day from the India House to his wife: "I got here comfortably in a good 'bus; and my visit was rather satisfactory than otherwise. But it grieves me to think that my

* On the 17th of June, 1843, he wrote in a private memorandum-book: "I was very unwell last night with a sort of nervous fever, palpitation of the heart, &c.; and I scarcely closed my eyes. The end approaches! I have long thought that I was subject to some affection of the heart, which would terminate suddenly. Dr. ——, whom I consulted, was of a different opinion. He assured me that there was no organic defect. I still doubt. *Thy will be done!* I should prepare to render up my account to that gracious Power, by whom I have been so long and so mercifully preserved and protected."

children as well as your dear self should look forward with such painful feelings to an event which is inevitable, and which at my age cannot be long postponed. My only feeling of pain will be to leave you all, who are justly so dear to me." And soon afterwards, in another letter, he said: "I have been most mercifully dealt with, and I am deeply grateful that at my advanced age I should be permitted the use of my faculties—of sight, hearing, mind, and even some degree of bodily activity."

He attended to his business at the India House at this time without being distressed by the exertion. Early in April, he made a spirited speech in Court, on some subject in which he was greatly interested. After the debate, a brother-Director congratulated him on the force and vigor with which he had spoken. "Ah!" replied Mr. Tucker, "it is only the last flicker of the taper before it goes out."

Whether he had, at this time, in spite of his present vigor, any internal promptings suggestive of a failure to come, I do not know. But very soon afterwards a sudden attack of illness, with strong symptoms of fever and inflammation, prostrated him; and, for a time, in spite of the ministration of three experienced medical attendants, the keenest apprehensions were entertained for his life. Throughout many days he lay stretched on what was believed to be the bed of death, racked by the severest pains, which he endured with beautiful patience and resignation. To all in that sorrowing household it was a season of intense anxiety; at times of de-

spondency and despair. It seemed as though the summons had come at last—suddenly—unexpectedly—finding all but the sufferer himself unprepared for the blow. He had always been so full of life—there had been so much activity of body, so much energy of mind, so much elasticity of spirit, that they had never associated with all this vitality a thought of the stillness of death. And yet now, at the threshold of fourscore, under paroxysms of mortal illness such as the frame of youth might vainly have resisted, how probable was such an issue! They could only pray to Him in whose hands are all such issues—the issues of Life and Death.

And their prayers were heard. After many days and nights of suffering, there were symptoms of favorable change. The crisis of the disorder had passed. A season of comparative ease had followed the pain and the restlessness that had threatened to bring him to the grave; and, on the 1st of May, he rose up from his bed.

The first words that he had uttered were words of Prayer and Praise. When he was seated in an arm-chair, he asked for his purse, and gave out his monthly contribution to the poor-box. Then his thoughts reverted to some old pensioners—the cross-sweepers, who had long been recipients of his bounty; and he placed some money in the hands of his daughters to be given to them, that they might not suffer by his confinement to the house.

His recovery was retarded by a severe inflammation of the eye, which threatened, at one time, to

deprive him of sight. But the measures to which recourse was had to arrest the evil proved eminently successful, and he was soon enabled to take the pen again into his hand, and to write without inconvenience. His spirits soon regained their wonted elasticity; and he became as cheerful in convalescence as he had been patient in sickness; never at any time exhibiting the slightest symptom of fretfulness or irritability, but with a rare appreciation of the unfailing love which had ministered and was ministering to him with so much gentleness and assiduity, was prodigal of kindly acknowledgments, and tenderly solicitous lest the unwearying devotion of his attendants should press upon the sources of their health. But the greatness of this love and devotion disquieted him. He had been mercifully rescued almost from the very gates of death; but he could not hope much longer to be spared to occupy his accustomed seat in the centre of that loving circle. He knew that they must prepare themselves to see his place empty—and it saddened him to see their grief. So, as soon as he was capable of so much exertion, he drew up the following beautiful letter of exhortation to his children. He kept it for some time in his desk, and then gave it to one of them, with instructions that it should be opened after his death :

"3, Upper Portland-place, July, 1850.

"My beloved Children,—Your unwearied and devoted attentions to me during my late serious illness, have endeared you to me, if possible, more than ever; and I feel profoundly

grateful to that merciful Providence which has supported your dearest mother and all of you throughout this severe trial.

"But you must not give way to strong emotions; for they are not only injurious to your health and well-being, but they distress the object of your solicitude.

"I have reached a very advanced age, and must be prepared for a change. Old age has its infirmities and suffering, and a prolonged existence is not to be desired. Your care should now be to comfort and console your beloved mother, who has been everything to me, and everything to you all. I trust that she will not leave this house, in which we have all enjoyed so much happiness; and I feel assured that you will all tenderly watch over her, and contribute by every means in your power to her future comfort. Submit with resignation to the decree of that merciful Power which cannot err, which has spared me for so many years, and which in its goodness may call me soon to another state. May that gracious Power continue to you all its protection and favor! and bestow upon you all those blessings of which this life is susceptible!! Do not mourn for me like those who are without hope. You have duties still to perform; and you have still, I trust, many years of future happiness in prospect.

"Your most affectionate father,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

As the summer advanced, the health of Mr. Tucker continued steadily to improve. It was his year of absence from the Court, so that his zeal in behalf of the public service did not impede his recovery; and in July his restoration to health had advanced so far that he contemplated a yachting excursion along the Southern Coast, and would have carried out his design, but that the vessel which he had purposed to engage, and in which he had before made a short trip, chanced to be engaged for the season. His

family were anxious that he should try the invigorating effects of change of air, but he was averse to any land-travelling, and preferred the sure comfort of his own home to the uncertainty of a strange abode. He therefore remained in Portland-place, continuing to improve in health, and deriving much tranquil pleasure from the domestic occupations in which he had, at all times, found abundant solace and delight. He would dictate whilst one of his daughters wrote; or sometimes he would write himself, with a hand that had lost but little of its firmness. He would listen joyously to his children's music. Occasionally he would balance his accounts, and with as much precision as when he was Accountant-General, and had charge of the revenues of India. But that which above all else engaged a large share of his time was the current literature of the day. The English and Indian papers were read aloud to him and discussed. Articles in periodicals of good repute often afforded him considerable entertainment; and he would listen for hours, whilst his wife or one of his daughters read to him some interesting new work, or passages of that great old dramatist whose writings are always new.* A rubber of whist with his children often afforded him evening amusement; and he played with so much spirit, and

* To an article in the *Calcutta Review*, on "The Lindsays in India," which was read to him about this time, he listened with the greatest interest. It seemed to excite many recollections of the Past, and it called forth a flood or anecdotes relating to Lord Wellesley and other celebrities of Mr. Tucker's earlier days. Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" afforded very many hours of pleasant reading; and Shakespeare was always welcome.

yet with such charming good humor, that it was a pleasure indeed to be one of the party, or even to watch the game.

Nor was all his social intercourse at this time confined to the members of his own family. He received the visits of his friends, and took pleasure in their conversation. Sometimes, accompanied by one of his daughters, he would call on a near neighbour or one of his brother-Directors who resided in a contiguous street—for he seldom, indeed, missed his daily walk—and occasionally he welcomed to his dinner-table some of his most intimate and cherished associates.

It was towards the close of this year (1850) that, in compliance with the wishes of one of his sons, he bethought himself of arranging, for purposes of publication, a selection from his public and private papers relating to matters of Indian Government. In pursuance of the intention which was taking shape in his mind, he addressed the following letter to one of his colleagues, who was among the most honored and beloved of Mr. Tucker's friends:

"3, Upper Portland-place, 30th November, 1850.

"MY DEAR ——,—I was urged some years ago to print a selection from my Dissents; but I had no ambition to bring them, or myself, under particular notice. They were written in the performance of my official duty, and without any ulterior view.

"I have recently been solicited by one of my sons, who has been carefully looking them over, to allow him to select and print some of these documents; but I am not disposed to give

this permission, unless my doing so could be connected with some public object.

"If I thought that, by printing some of these papers, I could promote in any degree the interests and credit of the Court, by showing that we are not unmindful (as is, I fear, suspected in some quarters) of our public duties; or if I could flatter myself that the discussions in which I have engaged were likely to throw light on the questions which must soon occupy the attention of the Court and of the Government, I should not hesitate to contribute my share to the general stock of materials to be used for framing the new Charter.

"I should not, of course, think for a moment of introducing any *personal* questions—such as my *Comments* on the case of Colonel ——, Mr. ——, Sir ——, &c.

"The selection would have reference—

"1st. To our revenue systems of administration, including the salt, opium, and customs.

"2ndly. To our judicial administration, including the measure adopted in this country for prosecuting the appeals of her Majesty in Council.

"3rdly. To our political proceedings, including the Afghan treaty of June, 1838—the seizure of Scinde, &c. I should be much tempted to add my comment on the confiscation of Colaba, and on the general policy to be observed towards the Princes and Chiefs of India; but I fear that this might lead me to the 'tabood' question of Sattara, Delhi, &c.

"4thly. I should be disposed to introduce my paper on Cotton, my remarks on the powers of the Secret Committee, and other miscellaneous matters; but some of these would require careful consideration.

"If, by-and-by, at some convenient moment, you should feel disposed to consult the Deputy and other leading members of the Court, and there should be a feeling in favor of the project which I have sketched, I will be prepared to commence my work early in the spring, so that it may not interfere with my other duties, should I be spared to return to the Court.

"Believe me, most sincerely yours,

"H. St.G. Tucker."

The design here contemplated was never carried out—it remained an unaccomplished purpose until after his death. Perhaps, he, or some of his colleagues, may have had official misgivings. His health, too, was failing again. As the year wore on to a close, he was visited by a severe neuralgic affection, which caused him at intervals acute pain. The disorder, which was known as "neuralgic rheumatism," seemed to baffle the skill of his medical attendants. Very little was it that they could do, all through the winter, to alleviate his sufferings, which were great.

But as spring approached, the hopes of Mr. Tucker's family began greatly to revive. The acuteness of the neuralgic pains was considerably mitigated; the patient seemed altogether to be gathering health and strength. His medical advisers said that the month of March, with its cutting winds, once passed, there was every reason to be hopeful for the future. March came and March went; and still the patient continued to improve.

The year of Mr. Tucker's rotatory exclusion from the Court of Directors was now nearly at an end. The day of his return to the active duties of his office was close at hand. They who had been professionally watching the state of his health believed that his restoration to office would have a benignant effect. They thought that moderate occupation and gentle excitement would invigorate and refresh him; and they looked forward, therefore, with pleasure and confidence, to his return to the Court.

So Mr. Tucker, who had now completed his

eightieth year, again took part in the councils of our Eastern Empire. It must be said that he did so, not without some misgivings. Personally, he was unwilling to quit his post. He used to quote the case of Lord Cornwallis, and seemed to cling to the idea of dying with the harness on his back. But on the other hand, although there was no perceptible decay of the mental powers, and he felt that he was capable of efficiently performing the duties of his office, when not prevented by any physical ailment from taking his seat at the India House, he doubted whether it would not become him better, sensible as he was of the inroads of constitutional decay, to resign his place to some younger incumbent. He had been cordially welcomed back to the Court by his colleagues; and he had resumed his old duties without suffering from the exertion. But he still reflected upon the subject of retirement, and, never doubting for a moment that he ought to be an efficient Director or no Director at all, at last came to the determination of addressing his constituents and resigning his seat. And, in accordance with this intention, he drew up the following announcement to the Proprietors of India Stock:

"I beg to tender my cordial and respectful acknowledgments for the honor which you have been pleased to confer upon me, by again appointing me to a seat in the Direction of your affairs; and I had indulged a hope that, for some short space, I might have continued to serve without prejudice to the public interests.

"But the infirmities of age have been so greatly aggravated by a long and severe illness, with which I was afflicted during the last year, that I feel it would be impossible for me to render efficient service in the responsible situation of a Director of your affairs. I must, therefore, replace in your hands the appointment of a successor.

"I have now served the East India Company in different situations, abroad and at home, for about sixty years; and I trust that I may be allowed to add that I have served with diligence, fidelity, and zeal. In retiring from public life, I will only express my earnest hope that the vast empire which has been committed to British rule may long continue to flourish, and be rendered conducive to the prosperity of the mother country, and to the well-being and happiness of our Asiatic subjects."

It is impossible not to admire the conscientiousness out of which this determination arose. The intended resignation of his seat at the India House was a mere precautionary measure. He did not purpose to retire from the Direction because he felt that he was incompetent to the efficient discharge of his duties, but because he felt that at his advanced age he might *become* incapable of discharging them with the energy of his younger days. But his friends were of opinion, that whilst he was yet able to take part in the councils of the India House, and render his knowledge and experience ancillary to the general efficiency of the administration, it was in no sense his duty to anticipate a Future, which might yet be some years distant, by a voluntary relinquishment of his post. Upon public grounds such a withdrawal from office was not to be desired. Mr. Tucker had proved that his veteran hand had

lost none of its old nerve and vigor. During a connexion of a quarter of a century with the Court of Directors, he had written few more masterly papers than one which, at the age of seventy-eight, he drew up with reference to the future destiny of the Reigning Family of Delhi. And now, in the middle of May, 1851, a minute which he had written on a very different subject—the Porto Nuovo Iron-works—was so full in its information and so sound in its argument, that some of the most influential of his colleagues expressed a wish to attach their names to it, moulded into a Dissent. There were, therefore, no public reasons for Mr. Tucker's retirement; and there were strong private reasons against it. It was apprehended that there might be danger in the sudden removal of one of those props and supports upon which he had rested for so many years. Business, indeed, had become almost necessary to him; and the dispiriting and relaxing effects of a suspension of his old duties—a change in his old habits—was dreaded by his family and friends.

But, as the year advanced, the neuralgic pains which had so much afflicted him did not abate. Change of air was recommended by his medical attendants, and, in accordance with their advice, on the 22nd of May, accompanied by Mrs. Tucker and his youngest daughter, he journeyed down to Brighton. The fatigue of travelling did not distress him, and he was so well, and in such good spirits on his arrival, that he expressed a desire to take the air out of doors. The change seemed to invigorate him,

and although the pains which racked him returned at intervals, his beloved companions were filled with hopes of his restoration to health; and for a time they were very happy. The weather was mild, and the invalid would sit in an easy-chair, by the bay-window, watching the white sails of the fishing-boats on the opposite sea, enjoying the music of the street-bands, listening to the reading of the news-papers from town, or dictating letters to his daughter. He had lost none of his old powers of composition, and his diction was as clear and forcible as it had been at any period of his life.

But the end was approaching. On the last day of May, the little party returned to town. In the following week unfavorable symptoms presented themselves, and recourse was again had to the best medical aid. On the 5th of June the sufferer seemed to rally, and for some days there was a marked improvement. On the 8th, indeed, he was sufficiently well to receive the visits of two brother-Directors; and on the 10th, he felt so far recovered —he was in possession of so much strength—that he talked of going to the India House on the following day, to take part in the Wednesday's council. His medical advisers, however, recommended that he should postpone, for a day or two, his return to his official duties; and as there was to be a Flower Show in the Botanic Gardens on the same day, he asked his children, in his old cheerful way, whether he should go to the City or to see the flowers. There could be no doubt of the reply. So he wrote a note

to his friend the Chairman of the Court, explaining the cause of his intended absence from the India House, and promised his children that they should take him to the Gardens.

On that Tuesday night Mr. Tucker slept better than he had slept for many months. On the following morning he seemed to be in high spirits, anticipating with much pleasure his visit to the Flower Show. The weather was favorable; he went there in his carriage; walked about the Gardens for a little space, enjoying the bright sunshine, and examining with a smile of pleasure the beautiful specimens of Nature's works around him. The exertion did not distress him, and during the two following days he appeared to be in better health and spirits, taking a lively interest in all that was going on around him, and listening with attention to the evening reading. On the Friday night there were no unfavorable symptoms of any kind, but when he kissed his children on retiring, and blessed them with his wonted tenderness, it was—for the last time.

He never returned again to the room which had been for so many years lighted up by his beloved presence. That night mortal sickness fell upon him; and before the morrow's sun had reached the meridian he had rendered back his soul to his Maker.

He fell asleep on the 14th of June, 1851, in the eighty-first year of his age. In the Cemetery at Kensal Green, an obelisk of white marble, in the

summer-season bordered with many a flower, marks the spot where rest his remains. It bears this inscription upon it:*

SACRED
To the beloved and revered memory of
HENRY ST.GEORGE TUCKER, Esq.,
Of Upper Portland-place,
Director of the Honorable East India Company,
Who departed this life,
Trusting in the merits of his Redeemer,
June 14th, 1851, in the 81st year of his age.

"When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him.

"Because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him."—Job xxix. 11, 12.

His life and death formed a rare mirror:
The one showing how a Christian ought to live;
The other—how he may hope to die.

If the biographer of Henry St. George Tucker has not set forth his character in this volume better than any description can illustrate it, he has written in vain. Yet something, too, may be said, in this place, about those many fine qualities which, with rare harmony and consistency, spoke out from the actions of his life. Foremost among these qualities—and, indeed, comprehending many others—was the manliness of his nature. He was pre-eminently a man among men. He had a disposition into which nothing mean, or cowardly, or sordid, ever entered. There was altogether a genuineness about him, that made all shams and pretences shrink and cower in his presence. Whatsoever he said, he said truth-

* A monumental tablet in the church of Crayford, in Kent, with an inscription somewhat similar to the above, and a painted window in Trinity Church, have also been consecrated to his memory.

fully, earnestly, from the full heart. Whatsoever he did, he did thoroughly, conscientiously, and with an energy that could seldom be resisted. He had nothing to do with half-truths, compromises, or reservations. He did not form his resolutions hastily, but, once formed, no adamant was more inflexible. A sustaining conviction of right upheld him; and he went on bravely to the end with a constancy which no fear of consequences could shake, and no hope of advantage could unsettle. In all the circumstances of life, his independence of mind was, indeed, conspicuous. He had been habituated to self-reliance from his very boyhood; but there was nothing presumptuous or domineering in his reception of the opinions of others, or uncandid in the construction of their motives. He did not deny to others what he claimed for himself—the right of free judgment and independent action—and although he deplored the opposition which he sometimes encountered, he never resented it. It was not, indeed, in his nature to speak bitterly or slightingly of his opponents.

His mental activity was great and enduring. His intellect was of the robustest kind. It seldom happens that early development is not followed by early decay. But it is not too much to say of Henry St.George Tucker, that he was a statesman at eighteen and a statesman at eighty. There are few instances on record of men who, at the two extremes of so long a chain of years, have been endowed with so much intellectual strength, and been capable of

such sustained efforts. There is a period in the lives of most men who have attained to an advanced age, from which a perceptible decline of mental power is to be traced. But following the career of Mr. Tucker over a space of more than half a century, I find it difficult to fix the point at which there was any increase or any diminution of his power to grapple with great questions, or to set forth his arguments in language distinguished alike by the strength and the transparency of crystal. Years, indeed, passed lightly over him. His remarkable memory was unclouded to the last. There was never any confusion in the arrangement of his ideas, or any obscurity in his diction. In the lasting qualities of his mind he was, perhaps, unsurpassed by any example upon record.

His reputation in early life was first established by the consummate skill with which he handled intricate questions of Indian Finance. He was unquestionably the most eminent Financier that ever presided over the Indian Exchequer. But although, in this capacity, he rendered great services to his country, for which he has never yet been assigned his due place in History, it was by no means his only claim to be placed in the front ranks of Indian statesmen. Both in matters of domestic and foreign policy his foresight and sagacity were conspicuous. In respect of those questions of internal administration which necessarily engage so large a share of the time and attention both of the local and the home Governments, he belonged to what is now

called an old school—a school in which Shore, Barlow, and Edmonstone taught, and of which Cornwallis and Wellesley were the patrons. It has now ceased to be popular; but there was at the bottom of the policy which it encouraged a respect for individual rights which we look for in vain in the tenets of the new school which is fast supplanting it. To the sovereignty of Justice Mr. Tucker was ever loyal. He had no toleration for those politicians with whom Resumption and Annexation are household words, and who sit loosely to the obligations of all sorts of covenants and treaties. The same leading principles which regulated his dealings with the people of our own territories, spoke out also from all that he said and did in relation to the rights of native Princes and foreign nations. He had never any eagerness to confiscate the principalities of our dependents, or to absorb the kingdoms of our enemies. He was the champion of the weak; the shelter of the prostrate; and he was never more earnest in his utterances than when he was inculcating lessons of mercy and forbearance.

There was a generosity, indeed, in his character as a statesman, which had something chivalrous and romantic about it. He was continually in an attitude of defence and protection, with a stretched-out arm to shield the oppressed. He may have sometimes invested the objects of his compassion with qualities which did not rightfully belong to them, for it is in the very nature of a generous disposition to be confiding and unsuspicious; and if he erred in

this, the error is one only of noble minds, to be recorded and dwelt upon with pleasure. But his generosity and judgment were not often at variance. The veil of glittering sophistry which injustice draws before its acts—the mist through which national vanity and national prejudice go blindly groping—never obscured the truth from his eyes. He judged the case of others as he would his own, and called things by the names that rightfully belonged to them. He was as genuine a lover of his country as any of his cotemporaries; but he did not conceive it to be the truest patriotism to varnish her misdeeds, and to encourage her in acts of injustice and oppression.

There was a noticeable peculiarity in the constitution of his mind to which some of these results may be traced. With a mathematical exactness and precision, which ensured correctness of statement and soundness of argument in all his writings and speeches, he combined much of the enthusiasm and imaginativeness of the poetical temperament. The dry studies of Finance, in which, during all the earlier years of his adult life, he was continually engaged, never deadened the liveliness of his fancy or blunted the acuteness of his sensibilities. He was a great reader of polite literature; and especially delighted in the works of the great masters of British song. He delighted, too, in the recreation of verse, and had a taste for dramatic composition, which, if it had been decreed that he should lead a life of literary leisure, he would probably have less

sparingly indulged.* To the charms of Music, too, he was peculiarly alive, and the fineness of his ear, which is to be discerned also in the nicely-balanced structure of his literary compositions, rendered him as a critic fastidiously correct. Upon his public demonstrations these lighter accomplishments were not wholly without an effect, for he was wont frequently to introduce both into his speeches and his writings brief illustrative quotations from the great dramatists, or snatches of stirring national songs. It was his fortune to be a Financier; but it was his delight to breathe an atmosphere of Poetry and Romance.

But it is only by associating those qualities, which illustrated his public career as a statesman, with those which graced and beautified his domestic life, that the character of the man is to be fitly portrayed. There was in Henry St.George Tucker a rare union of masculine firmness and courage, with a kindliness so winning and a tenderness so engaging, that all who dwelt beneath his roof were drawn to him by feelings of the most hallowed affection. The nearer you were to him, the more you loved and the more you honored him. Coldness and harshness were alike foreign to his nature. He invited confidence by his own openness and unreserve; and he so tempered reproof with mildness, that his lessons made a lasting impression on his

* He wrote and printed two tragedies—"Harold" and "Camoens"—of which mention should have been made in the course of the narrative. They abound in noble sentiments vigorously expressed.

children, but never left a sting behind them. In his own home he was not only the loving husband and the indulgent parent, but the most cheerful of companions—the life and soul of the family party—youthful among the youthful, and among the sportive ever full of sport. Whatever may have happened to vex or to distress him abroad, he carried home to the domestic circle the same evenness of temper, the same undisturbed serenity of mind. No disappointment ever embittered him; sickness and pain never made him querulous. As years advanced, all his fine qualities seemed to ripen under the sun of time; and he was never more loveable than when he was summoned from the scenes, which he had so long gladdened by his presence.

Of the liberality of his nature I have already spoken. He had an open hand and an open heart; but he was not a thoughtless giver. His generosity was controlled and tempered by prudence. It was prompt, but considerate; quick, but not hasty. And it was utterly free from every taint of ostentation. His bounty was, for the most part, exercised in secret. It was never talked of; it was little known. He gave when he had little to give; and he gave when Providence had increased his store. It may be truly said of Henry St.George Tucker, as it was said of William Penn, that "some of the best pages of his history were written in his private cash-book."

And as he was pitiful in the extreme to all who needed his assistance, so was he uniformly courteous to all men with whom he was brought into public

or private intercourse. He used to say that he had many friends and many enemies; but although the friendship was not all on one side, the enmity was; for he never harboured a vindictive or malignant feeling, and was grieved when he heard others speaking evil of those who had done him wrong. He lived, indeed, as a Christian ought to live—in Charity with all men; and he walked humbly with his God. Humbly, but most hopefully, he walked; approaching the great hour of eternal change in all the serenity of a quiet conscience, grateful for the Past, expectant of the Future, only regretting his translation to another world for the sake of those who would remain to feel the great void that was left by the removal of HENRY ST.GEORGE TUCKER.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 8, *dele* inverted commas after *post.*
Page 49, last line, for "devolve," read "*devolves.*"
Page 377, line 5, for "point," read "*points.*"

APPENDIX.

[A.—Page 292.]

EXTRACT PUBLIC LETTER FROM BENGAL.

Dated 20th October, 1812.

Par. 83. The grounds which led us to appoint a separate Secretary in the Colonial and Financial Departments, are stated in the minute of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, dated 8th of August.

84. The Governor-General remarks that the return of Mr. Tucker, from England, to this country, naturally suggested a strong desire, founded on a knowledge, and, indeed, a long experience, both in the present and former administrations, of his distinguished talents and qualifications, to render his services available at the shortest possible delay.

85. No situation, under the existing establishment of Government, adequate to his rank and consideration in the service, was vacant, and there was no immediate or any definite prospect of a suitable opening.

86. These services revived, in the mind of the Governor-General, the consideration of a question, very lately under deliberation, for the establishment of a separate Colonial Department, to be placed under the charge of an additional Secretary

to Government. The great accession to business, thrown both upon the members and officers of this Government, by the recent conquests, including those of the French Islands, and in the Eastern Seas, had already been found so oppressive upon the several departments, as to induce an inquiry into the most convenient way of transacting those affairs. A reference was, therefore, made to the Secretaries of Government, whom we requested to report their sentiments upon that subject. Their opinion was unanimous, that a distinct department, for that branch of the public business, was nearly indispensable, and that opinion was supported by a statement of facts, connected with the present overburdened state of the administration in all the departments, which it was impossible not to acknowledge, and, by reasons drawn from that view of the subject, equally difficult to controvert.

87. The Governor-General was prevented from giving his immediate assent to the proposed measure, by motives of public economy alone, and by a reluctance to make so considerable an augmentation of establishment, until its necessity should be ascertained by a somewhat longer trial. The reports of the Secretaries to Government are recorded with the minute, and every week's experience has justified the sentiments they submitted to the Board.

88. The Governor-General was the more strongly induced to reconsider the question, by a sense of the advantage which Government would derive, not only in affording relief to the other departments, but in acquiring the more essential assistance, which the peculiar qualifications possessed by Mr. Tucker, for most of the principal points of public deliberation and business, connected with the Colonies, would afford, by that department being committed to his charge.

89. Upon this proposition, the Governor-General grafted the further modifications of the present arrangements, of placing the Financial Department also under the charge of Mr. Tucker. Government had already experienced his eminent knowledge of that science, and his distinguished talents in that peculiar branch of administration, by the success of the important and

beneficial operations of Finance, which were commenced, and brought nearly to their accomplishment, while he administered that department previous to his departure to Europe.

90. We persuade ourselves that under the present pressure of the Colonial business, upon all the superior officers of Government, and under the considerations above stated, your Honorable Court will be well inclined to sanction and approve the appointment of Mr. Tucker to the office of Colonial and Financial Secretary to Government, with the allowances now enjoyed by the other principal Secretaries to Government.

[B.—Page 349.]

LETTER TO SIR HENRY STRACHEY, BART.

Friern Lodge, Whetstone, 13th April, 1821.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—As you appeared the other day to take an interest in a question in which I am deeply interested, perhaps you will take the trouble to peruse the accompanying notes. It is necessary to hold in mind that the Government had two objects in view in the Financial arrangements which were undertaken in 1810. First—to deprive the Debt of the privilege of being convertible at any time into a Bill of Exchange on the Court of Directors. Secondly—to effect a reduction in the charge of interest.

The first object was accomplished by placing the old Debt in course of payment, and opening a new eight-per-cent. loan, *divested of the privilege of remittance*, for receiving transfers from the former, or subscriptions in money, which should be applied to the discharge of the former. This has been opprobriously designated "the Decoy Loan;" and it is only necessary to mention that a large proportion of the old Debt was transferred to it.

The next proceeding was to effect a reduction in the rate of interest, by placing the new (or Decoy) eight-per-cent. loan in course of payment, and opening a six-per-cent. loan for receiv-

ing transfers and subscriptions;—and this measure also succeeded.

It is very certain that both objects might have been attempted at the same time, and by one single operation—that is, by opening a six-per-cent. loan at once, divested of the privilege of remittance; but this measure, after a great deal of discussion, was judged to be too bold and hazardous. Perhaps it was; and certainly, if it had miscarried, the Public Debt of India would have been ten millions greater than it is at present, even if we had escaped absolute insolvency. But those who accuse me of being the author of the project, do me, perhaps, more justice than they intend or than I deserve; while, in ascribing to me the particular *means* which were adopted, they undoubtedly pass judgment in utter ignorance of the circumstances. It was the chief aim of my public life, while I was employed in the administration of the Finances, to effect a reduction in the charge of interest; but this merit I claim only in common with others—it was not exclusively mine. With respect to the *means* to be employed for accomplishing this great end, I may state to you in confidence, as a confidential officer of the Government, what I never can explain to the Public—my own opinion was in favor of the more direct proceeding; but it was considered, in a quarter which I was bound to respect, of so hazardous a character, as to preclude all idea of its adoption. It was apprehended, in fact, that a large proportion of the Debt, amounting to about thirty millions, would immediately have been transferred to England, where there were no funds forthcoming for its discharge—that the Court of Directors would have been compelled to send back the bills under some most burdensome compromise with their creditors—and that, thus, the only opportunity ever likely to offer of giving the Debt a *local character*, and of reducing the annual charge of interest, would, in all probability, have been lost for ever. All this might have happened, no doubt, and the evil would have been most serious if it had happened; but the prudence and foresight which adopted the safer course of proceeding, constituted no part of my merits.

You will perceive how awkwardly I am placed; but as I can truly say, that throughout my public life I have been anxious only to do my duty to the best of my judgment, I am content to leave my conduct to be judged by the Public, and to stand or fall by the decision which may be pronounced upon it. In offering myself as a candidate for the Direction, my chief object is to obtain occupation—public and honorable employment; but if any individual can believe that I ever counselled a measure involving a breach of faith to the Public, that individual will do right to exclude me for ever from all public trust. He will not, however, do right to pass judgment in ignorance, in this, or any other case. For the rest, I can only say that, whether right or wrong, I shall continue to act always on the principles on which I ever have acted; and those must not trust me for the Future who have reason to disapprove of the Past.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

H. St.G. Tucker.

[C.—Page 458.]

The passage in Mr. Mills' speech at the India House, on the 15th of July, 1835, relative to the recall of Lord Heytesbury, to which allusion is made at page 458, is thus printed in the *Asiatic Journal:*

"He might be permitted to observe that, in vacating the appointment of Lord Heytesbury, after it had been so deliberately made, the Right Honorable Baronet, Sir John Hobhouse, had done an act which decidedly militated against the good government of India. Beyond that, he would admit that the Right Honorable Baronet had met the question most manfully in the House of Commons, and also in his communications with the Directors. He had stated that he thought it better that the interests of India should suffer, than that the Minister of the day, whoever he might be, should be defeated."

I have referred to the speech of Sir John Hobhouse, in the

House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Praed's motion for papers, thinking I should probably find in it the declaration alluded to by Mr. Mills. In this speech the President of the India Board is reported (in the Mirror of Parliament) to have said that he scorned "the miserable pretence of consulting 'measures not men'"—and that it was "better that the authority of the East India Company should receive a shock in India, than that a cordial sympathy should not exist between his Majesty's Ministers and the Governor-General." This may not have been the passage referred to in the India House debate, but the declaration is tantamount to that to which allusion has been made. It should, however, be added, that it is at least doubtful whether Sir John Hobhouse was really the prime agent of Lord Heytesbury's recall. I know at least that Sir Robert Peel told a near relative of his Lordship, that he believed Sir John would have suffered the appointment to take effect—but that it was necessary to conciliate Mr. Hume and the Radicals who were eager to see it cancelled.

THE END.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.